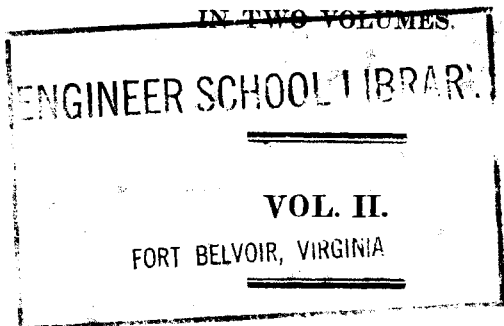


THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

BY  
DAVID RAMSAY, M. D.



LEXINGTON, KY.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY DOWNING AND PHILLIPS.

.....  
1845.



# CONTENTS.

---

## CHAPTER XVI.

<i>The alliance between France and the United States. The campaign of 1778.</i>	FOLIO 9
---	------------

## CHAPTER XVII.

<i>Campaign of 1779.</i>	59
--------------------------	----

## APPENDIX, No. II.

<i>Of Continental Paper Currency.</i>	89
---------------------------------------	----

## CHAPTER XVIII.

<i>Of Indians, and Expeditions into the Indian country.</i>	103
---	-----

## CHAPTER XIX.

<i>Campaign of 1780, in the southern states.</i>	119
--	-----

## CHAPTER XX.

<i>Campaign of 1780, in the northern states.</i>	156
--	-----

## CHAPTER XXI.

<i>Foreign Affairs connected with the American Revolution, 1780, 1781.</i>	184
--	-----

## CHAPTER XXII.

<i>The revolt of the Pennsylvania line; of part of the Jersey troops: distresses of the American army: Arnold's invasion of Virginia.</i>	200
---	-----

## CHAPTER XXIII.

<i>Campaign of 1781: Operations in the two Carolinas, and Georgia.</i>	243
--	-----

973. 3  
 R148 V. 2

## CHAPTER XXIV.

<i>Campaign of 1781: Operations in Virginia: Cornwallis captured: New-London destroyed.</i>	FOLIO 244
---	--------------

## APPENDIX, No. III.

<i>Of the treatment of Prisoners, and of the dis- tresses of the Inhabitants.</i>	276
---	-----

## CHAPTER XXV.

<i>Campaign of 1782. Foreign events and negocia- tions. Peace, 1782.</i>	288
--	-----

## APPENDIX, No. IV.

<i>The state of parties; the advantages and disad- vantages of the Revolution; its influence on the minds and morals of the citizens.</i>	311
---	-----

## CHAPTER XXVI.

<i>The discharge of the American army: The evac- uation of New-York: The resignation of General Washington: Arrangements of Con- gress for disposing of their western territory, and paying their debts: The distresses of the States after the peace: The inefficacy of the ar- ticles of the confederation: A grand convention for amending the government: The new con- stitution: General Washington appointed Pre- sident: An address to the people of the United States.</i>	329
--	-----



THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

---

CHAPTER XVI.

*The alliance between France and the United States.  
The campaign of 1778.*

SOON after the intelligence of the capture of Burgoyne's army reached Europe, the court of France concluded at Paris, treaties of alliance and commerce with the United States. The circumstances which led to this great event, deserve to be particularly unfolded. The colonists having taken up arms, uninfluenced by the enemies of Great-Britain, conducted their opposition for several months after they had raised troops and emitted money, without any reference to foreign powers. They knew it to be the interest of Europe, to promote a separation between Great-Britain and her colonies, but as they began the contest with no other view than to obtain a redress of grievances, they neither wished in the first period of their opposition to involve Great-Britain in a war, nor to procure aid to themselves by paying court to her enemies. The policy of Great-

Britain in attempting to deprive the Americans of arms, was the first event which made it necessary for them to seek foreign connexions. At the time she was urging military preparations to compel their submission, she forbade the exportation of arms, and solicited the commercial powers of Europe to cooperate with her by adopting a similar prohibition. To frustrate the views of Great-Britain, congress, besides recommending the domestic manufacture of the materials for military stores, appointed a secret committee with powers to procure on their account, arms and ammunition, and also employed agents in foreign countries for the same purpose. The evident advantage which France might derive from the continuance of the dispute and the countenance which individuals of that country daily gave to the Americans, encouraged congress to send a political and commercial agent to that kingdom, with instructions to solicit its friendship, and to procure military stores. Silas Deane, being chosen for this purpose, sailed for France early in 1776, and was soon after his arrival at Paris instructed to sound count de Vergennes, the French minister for foreign affairs, on the subject of the American controversy. As the public mind, for reasons which have been mentioned, closed against Great-Britain, it opened towards other nations.

On the 11th of June 1776, congress appointed a committee, to prepare a plan of a treaty to be proposed to foreign powers. The discussion of this novel subject engaged their attention till the latter end of September. While congress was deliberating thereon, Mr. Deane was soliciting a supply of arms, ammunition, and soldiers' clothing, for their service. A sufficiency for lading three vessels was soon procured. What agency the government of France had in furnishing these supplies, or

whether they were sold or given as presents, are questions which have been often asked; but not satisfactorily answered; for the business was so conducted, that the transaction might be made to assume a variety of complexions, as circumstances might render expedient.

It was most evidently the interest of France to encourage the Americans in their opposition to Great-Britain, and it was true policy to do this by degrees and in a private manner, lest Great-Britain might take the alarm. Individuals are sometimes influenced by considerations of friendship and generosity, but interest is the pole star by which nations are universally governed. It is certain that Great-Britain was amused with declarations of the most pacific dispositions on the part of France, at the same time the Americans were liberally supplied with the means of defence, and it is equally certain, that this was the true line of policy for promoting that dismemberment of the British empire which France had an interest in accomplishing.

Congress knew, that a diminution of the overgrown power of Britain, could not but be desirable to France. Sore with the loss of her possessions on the continent of North-America, by the peace of Paris in the year 1763, and also by the capture of many thousands of her sailors in 1755, antecedent to a declaration of war, she must have been something more than human, not to have rejoiced at an opportunity of depressing an ancient and formidable rival. Besides the increasing naval superiority of Great-Britain, her vast resources, not only in her ancient dominions, but in colonies growing daily in numbers and wealth, added to the haughtiness of her flag, made her the object both of terror and envy. It was the interest of congress to apply to the court of France, and it was the interest of France to listen to their application.

Congress having agreed on the plan of the treaty, which they intended to propose to his Most Christian Majesty, proceeded to elect commissioners to solicit its acceptance. Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Thomas Jefferson, were chosen. The latter declining to serve, Arthur Lee, who was then in London, and had been very serviceable to his country in a variety of ways, was elected in his room. It was resolved, that no member should be at liberty to divulge any thing more of these transactions, than "that Congress had taken such steps as they judged necessary, for obtaining foreign alliances." The secret committee were directed to make an effectual lodgment in France of ten thousand pounds sterling, subject to the order of these commissioners. Dr. Franklin, who was employed as agent in the business, and afterwards as minister plenipotentiary at the court of France, was in possession of a greater proportion of foreign fame, than any other native of America. By the dint of superior abilities, and with but few advantages in early life, he had attained the highest eminence among men of learning, and in many instances extended the empire of science. His genius was vast and comprehensive, and with equal ease investigated the mysteries of philosophy, and the labyrinths of politics. His fame as a philosopher, had reached as far as human nature is polished or refined. His philanthropy knew no bounds. The prosperity and happiness of the human race, were objects, which at all times, had attracted his attention. Disgusted with Great-Britain, and glowing with the most ardent love for the liberties of his oppressed native country, he left London, where he had resided some years, in the character of agent for several of the colonies, and early in 1775 returned to Philadelphia, and immediately afterwards was elected by the legislature of Pensyl-

vania, to share in the opposition to Great-Britain as a member of congress. Shortly after his appointment to solicit the interests of congress in France, he sailed for that country. He was no sooner landed, than universally caressed. His fame had smoothed the way for his reception in a public character. Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, having rendezvoused at Paris, soon after opened their business in a private audience with the count de Vergennes. The congress could not have applied to the court of France under more favourable circumstances. The throne was filled by a prince in the flower of his age, and animated with the desire of rendering his reign illustrious. Count de Vergennes was not less remarkable for extensive political knowledge, than for true greatness of mind. He had grown old in the habits of government, and was convinced that conquests are neither the surest nor the shortest way to substantial fame. He knew full well that no success in war, however brilliant, could so effectually promote the security of France, as the emancipation of the colonies of her ancient rival. He had the superior wisdom to discern, that there were no present advantages to be obtained by unequal terms, that would compensate for those lasting benefits which were likely to flow from a kind and generous beginning. Instead of grasping at too much, or taking any advantages of the humble situation of the invaded colonies; he aimed at nothing more than by kind and generous terms to a distressed country, to perpetuate the separation which had already taken place between the component parts of an empire, from the union of which his sovereign had much to fear.

Truly difficult was the line of conduct, which the real interest of the nation required of the ministers of his most christian majesty. A haughty reserve would have dis-

couraged the Americans. An open reception, or even a legal countenance of their deputies, might have alarmed the rulers of Great-Britain, and disposed them to a compromise with their colonies, or have brought on an immediate rupture between France and England. A middle line, as preferable to either, was therefore pursued. Whilst the French government prohibited, threatened and even punished the Americans; private persons encouraged, supplied, and supported them. Prudence, as well as policy, required that France should not be over-hasty in openly espousing their cause. She was by no means fit for war. From the state of her navy, and the condition of her foreign trade, she was vulnerable on every side. Her trading people dreaded the thoughts of a war with Great-Britain, as they would thereby be exposed to great losses. These considerations were strengthened from another quarter. The peace of Europe was supposed to be unstable, from a prevailing belief that the speedy death of the elector of Bavaria, was an event extremely probable. But the principal reason which induced a delay, was an opinion, that the dispute between the mother country and the colonies would be compromised. Within the thirteen years immediately preceding, twice had the contested claims of the two countries brought matters to the verge of extremity. Twice had the guardian genius of both interposed, and reunited them in the bonds of love and affection. It was feared by the sagacious ministry of France, that the present rupture would terminate in the same manner. These wise observers of human nature apprehended, that their too early interference would favour a reconciliation, and that the reconciled parties would direct their united force against the French, as the disturbers of their domestic tranquillity. It had not yet entered into the hearts of the

French nation, that it was possible for the British American colonists, to join with their ancient enemies against their late friends.

At this period congress did not so much expect any direct aid from France, as the indirect relief of a war between that country and Great-Britain. To subserve this design, they resolved, that "their commissioners at the court of France should be furnished with warrants and commissions, and authorized to arm and fit for war in the French ports, any number of vessels (not exceeding six) at the expense of the United States, to war upon British property, provided they were satisfied this measure would not be disagreeable to the court of France." This resolution was carried into effect, and in the year 1777, marine officers, with American commissions, both sailed out of French ports, and carried prizes of British property into them. They could not procure their condemnation in the courts of France, nor sell them publicly, but they nevertheless found ways and means to turn them into money. The commanders of these vessels were sometimes punished by authority to please the English, but they were oftener caressed from another quarter to please the Americans.

While private agents on the part of the United States were endeavouring to embroil the two nations, the American commissioners were urging the ministers of his most christian majesty to accept the treaty proposed by congress. They received assurances of the good wishes of the court of France, but were from time to time informed, that the important transaction required farther consideration, and were enjoined to observe the most profound secrecy. Matters remained in this fluctuating state from December 1776, till December 1777. Private encouragement and public discountenance were

alternated, but both varied according to the complexion of news from America. The defeat on Long-Island, the reduction of New-York, and the train of disastrous events in 1776, which have already been mentioned, sunk the credit of the Americans very low, and abated much of the national ardour for their support. Their subsequent successes at Trenton and Princeton, effaced these impressions, and rekindled active zeal in their behalf. The capture of Burgoyne fixed these wavering politics. The success of the Americans in the campaign of 1777, placed them on high ground. Their enmity had proved itself formidable to Britain, and their friendship became desirable to France. Having helped themselves, they found it less difficult to obtain help from others. The same interest, which hitherto had directed the court of France to a temporizing policy, now required decisive conduct. Previous delay had favoured the dismemberment of the empire, but farther procrastination bid fair to promote, at least such a federal alliance of the disjointed parts of the British empire as would be no less hostile to the interests of France than a reunion of its several parts. The news of the capitulation of Saratoga reached France very early in December, 1777. The American deputies took that opportunity to press for an acceptance of the treaty, which had been under consideration for the preceding twelve months. The capture of Burgoyne's army convinced the French that the opposition of the Americans to Great-Britain was not the work of a few men, who had got power in their hands, but of the great body of the people, and was likely to be finally successful. It was therefore determined to take them by the hand, and Dec. 16, publicly to espouse their cause. The commissioners of congress were informed by Mr. Gerard, one



one of the secretaries of the king's council of state, "that it was decided to acknowledge the independence of the United States and to make a treaty with them. That in the treaty no advantage would be taken of their situation to obtain terms which, otherwise, it would not be convenient for them to agree to. That his most christian majesty desired the treaty once made should be durable, and their amity to subsist for ever, which could not be expected, if each nation did not find an interest in its continuance, as well as in its commencement. It was therefore intended, that the terms of the treaty should be such as the new formed states would be willing to agree to if they had been long since established, and in the fulness of strength and power; and such as they should approve of when that time should come. That his most christian majesty was fixed in his determination not only to acknowledge, but to support their independence. That in doing this he might probably soon be engaged in a war, yet he should not expect any compensation from the United States on that account, nor was it pretended that he acted wholly for their sakes, since besides his real good will to them, it was manifestly the interest of France, that the power of England should be diminished by the separation of the colonies from its government. The only condition he should require and rely on, would be, that the United States in no peace to be made, should give up their independence and return to the obedience of the British government." At any time previously to the 16th of December, 1777, when Mr. Gerard made the foregoing declaration, it was in the power of the British ministry to have ended the American war, and to have established an alliance with the United States that would have been of great service to both; but from the same haughtiness which for

some time had predominated in their councils, and blinded them to their interests, they neglected to improve the favourable opportunity.

Conformably to the preliminaries proposed by Mr. Gerard, his most christian majesty, Louis the XVI. on the 6th of February, 1778, entered into treaties of amity and commerce, and of alliance with the United States on the footing of the most perfect equality and reciprocity. By the latter of these, that illustrious monarch became the guarantee of their sovereignty, independence and commerce.

On a review of the conduct of the French ministry to the Americans, the former appear to have acted uniformly from a wise regard to national interest. Any line of conduct, different from that which they adopted, might have upset the measures which they wished to establish. Had they pretended to act from disinterested principles of generosity to the distressed, the known selfishness of human nature would have contradicted the extravagant pretension. By avowing the real motive of their conduct they furnished such a proof of candour as begat confidence.

The terms of reciprocity on which they contracted with the United States were no less recommended by wise policy than dictated by true magnanimity. As there was nothing exclusive in the treaty, an opening was left for Great-Britain to close the war when she pleased, with all the advantages for future commerce that France had stipulated for herself. This judicious measure made the establishment of American independence the common cause of all the commercial powers of Europe; for the question then was, whether the trade of the United States should by the subversion of their independence be again monopolized by Great-Britain, or

by the establishment of it, laid open on equal terms to all the world.

In national events the public attention is generally fixed on the movements of armies and fleets. Mankind never fail to do homage to the able general and expert admiral. To this they are justly entitled, but as great a tribute is due to the statesman who, from a more elevated station, determines on measures in which the general safety and welfare of empires are involved. This glory in a particular manner belongs to the count de Vergennes, who, as his most christian majesty's minister for foreign affairs, conducted the conferences which terminated in these treaties. While the ministers of his Britannic majesty were pleasing themselves with the flattering idea of permanent peace in Europe, they were not less surprised than provoked by hearing of the alliance which had taken place between his most christian majesty and the United States. This event, though often foretold, was disbelieved. The zeal of the British ministry to reduce the colonies to submission, blinded them to danger from every other quarter. Forgetting that interest governs public bodies perhaps more than private persons, they supposed that feebler motives would outweigh its all-commanding influence. Intent on carrying into execution the object of their wishes, they fancied that because France and Spain had colonies of their own, they would refrain from aiding or abetting the revolted British colonists, from the fear of establishing a precedent, which at a future day might operate against themselves. Transported with indignation against their late fellow subjects, they were so infatuated with the American war, as to suppose that trifling evils, both distant and uncertain, would induce the court of France to neglect an opportunity of securing great and immediate advantages.

How far this interference of the court of France can be justified by the laws of nations, it is not the province of history to decide. Measures of this kind are not determined by abstract reasoning. The present feelings of a nation, and the probable consequences of loss or gain, influence more than the decisions of speculative men. Suffice it to mention, that the French exculpated themselves from the heavy charges brought against them, by this summary mode of reasoning, "We have found," said they, "the late colonies of Great-Britain in actual possession of independence, and in the exercise of the prerogatives of sovereignty. It is not our business to enquire, whether they had, or had not, sufficient reason to withdraw themselves from the government of Great-Britain, and to erect an independent one of their own. We are to conduct towards nations agreeably to the political state in which we find them, without investigating how they acquired it. Observing them to be independent in fact, we were bound to suppose they were so of right, and had the same liberty to make treaties with them as with any other sovereign power." They also alleged, that Great-Britain could not complain of their interference, since she had set them the example only a few years before, in supporting the Corsicans in opposition to the court of France. They had besides many well founded complaints against the British, whose armed vessels had for months past harassed their commerce, on the idea of preventing an illicit trade with the revolted colonies.

The marquis de la Fayette, whose letters to France had a considerable share in reconciling the nation to patronize the United States, was among the first in the American army who received the welcome tidings of the treaty. In a transport of joy, mingled with an ef-

fusion of tears, he embraced general Washington, exclaiming, "The king my master has acknowledged your independence, and entered into an alliance with you for its establishment." The heart-felt joy, which spread from breast to breast, exceeded description. The several brigades assembled by order of the commander in chief. Their chaplains offered up public thanks to Almighty God, and delivered discourses suitable to the occasion. A feu de joie was fired, and on a proper signal being given, the air resounded with "Long live the king of France," poured forth from the breast of every private in the army. The Americans, having in their own strength for three years weathered the storms of war, fancied the port of peace to be in full view. Replete with the sanguine hopes of vigorous youth, they presumed that Britain, whose northern army had been reduced by their sole exertions, would not continue the unequal contest with the combined force of France and America. Overvaluing their own importance, and undervaluing the resources of their adversaries, they were tempted to indulge a dangerous confidence. That they might not be lulled into carelessness, congress made an animated address to them, in which, after reviewing the leading features of the war, they informed them "They must yet expect a severe conflict; that though foreign alliances secured their independence, they could not secure their country from devastation."—The alliance between France and America had not been concluded three days before it was known to the British ministry, and in less than five weeks more it was officially communicated to the court of London in a re-<sup>Mar. 13.</sup>script, delivered by the French ambassador to lord Weymouth. In this new situation of affairs, there were some in Great-Britain who advocated the measure of

peace with America, on the footing of independence. But the point of honour, which had before precipitated the nation into the war, predominated over the voice of prudence and interest. The king and parliament of Great-Britain resolved to punish the French nation for treating with their subjects, which they termed "An unprovoked aggression on the honour of the crown, and essential interests of the kingdom. And at the same time a vain hope was indulged, that the alliance between France and the United States, which was supposed to have originated in passion, might be dissolved. The national prejudices against the French, had been so instilled into the minds of Englishmen, and of their American descendants, that it was supposed practicable, by negotiations and concessions, to detach the United States from their new alliance, and reunite them to the parent state. Eleven days after the treaty  
Feb. 17. between France and America, had been concluded, the British minister introduced into the house of commons, a project for conciliation, founded on the idea of obtaining a reunion of the new states with Great-Britain. This consisted of two bills, with the following titles, "A bill for declaring the intention of Great-Britain concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his majesty's colonies, provinces and plantations in North-America," and a bill to "enable his majesty to appoint commissioners with sufficient powers to treat, consult and agree, upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations and provinces of North-America." These bills were hurried through both houses of parliament, and before they passed into acts, were copied and sent across the Atlantic, to lord and general Howe. On their arrival in America, they were sent by a flag to congress at York-town.

When they were received, congress was unin-  
formed of the treaty which their commissioners April 21.  
had lately concluded at Paris. For upwards of a year,  
they had not received one line of information from them,  
on any subject whatever. One packet had in that time  
been received, but all the letters therein were taken out  
before it was put on board the vessel which brought it  
from France, and blank paper put in their stead. A com-  
mittee of congress was appointed to examine these bills,  
and report on them. Their report was brought in the day  
following, and was unanimously adopted. By this, they  
rejected the proposals of Great-Britain. The vigorous  
and firm language in which congress expressed their re-  
jection of these offers, considered in connexion with the  
circumstance of their being wholly ignorant of the late  
treaty with France, exhibits the glowing serenity of for-  
titude. While the royal commissioners were industri-  
ously circulating these bills in a partial and secret man-  
ner, as if they suspected an intention of concealing them  
from the common people, congress, trusting to the good  
sense of their constituents, ordered them to be forthwith  
printed for the public information. Having directed the  
affairs of their country with an honest reference to its  
welfare, they had nothing to fear from the people know-  
ing and judging for themselves. They submitted the  
whole to the public. Their act, after some general re-  
marks on the bill, concluded as follows:

“From all which it appears evident to your commit-  
tee, that the said bills are intended to operate upon the  
hopes and fears of the good people of these states, so as  
to create divisions among them, and a defection from the  
common cause, now, by the blessing of Divine Provi-  
dence, drawing near to a favourable issue. That they  
are the sequel of that insidious plan, which from the

days of the stamp act, down to the present time, hath involved this country in contention and bloodshed. And that, as in other cases, so in this, although circumstances may force them at times to recede from their unjustifiable claims, there can be no doubt but they will, as heretofore upon the first favourable occasion, again display that lust of domination, which hath rent in twain the mighty empire of Britain.

“Upon the whole matter, the committee beg leave to report it as their opinion, that as the Americans united in this arduous contest upon principles of common interest, for the defence of common rights and privileges, which union hath been cemented by common calamities and by mutual good offices and affection, so the great cause for which they contend, and in which all mankind are interested, must derive its success from the continuance of that union. Wherefore any man or body of men, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with commissioners under the crown of Great-Britain, or any of them, ought to be considered and treated as open and avowed enemies of these United States.

“And further, your committee beg leave to report it as their opinion, that these United States cannot, with propriety, hold any conference with any commissioners on the part of Great-Britain, unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else, in positive and express terms, acknowledge the independence of said states.

“And inasmuch as it appears to be the design of the enemies of these states, to lull them into a fatal security—to the end that they may act with a becoming weight and importance, it is the opinion of your committee, that the several states be called upon to use the most



strenuous exertions to have their respective quotas of continental troops in the field as soon as possible, and that all the militia of the said states be held in readiness, to act as occasion may require."

The conciliatory bills were speedily followed by royal commissioners, deputed to solicit their reception. Governor Johnstone, lord Carlisle, and Mr. Eden, appointed on this business, attempted to open a negotiation on the subject. They requested general <sup>June 9.</sup> Washington to furnish a passport for their secretary, Dr. Ferguson, with a letter from them to congress, but this was refused, and the refusal was unanimously approved by congress. They then forwarded, in the usual channel of communication, a letter addressed "to his excellency Henry Laurens, the president, and others the members of congress," in which they communicated a copy of their commission and of the acts of parliament on which it was founded, and offered to concur in every satisfactory and just arrangement towards the following among other purposes:

To consent to a cessation of hostilities, both by sea and land.

To restore free intercourse, to revive mutual affection, and renew the common benefits of naturalization, through the several parts of this empire.

To extend every freedom to trade that our respective interests can require.

To agree that no military forces shall be kept up in the different states of North-America, without the consent of the general congress or particular assemblies.

To concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation.

To perpetuate our union by a reciprocal deputation

of an agent or agents from the different states, who shall have the privilege of a seat and voice in the parliament of Great-Britain; or, if sent from Britain, in that case to have a seat and voice in the assemblies of the different states to which they may be deputed respectively, in order to attend the several interests of those by whom they are deputed.

In short, to establish the power of the respective legislatures in each particular state, to settle its revenue, in civil and military establishment, and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government, so that the British states throughout North-America, acting with us in peace and war under one common sovereign, may have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege, that is short of a total separation of interests, or consistent with that union of force, on which the safety of our common religion and liberty depends.

A decided negative having been already given, previous to the arrival of the British commissioners, to the overtures contained in the conciliatory bills, and intelligence of the treaty with France having in the mean time arrived, there was no ground left for farther deliberation. President Laurens therefore, by order of congress, returned the following answer.

I have received the letter from your excellencies of the 9th instant, with the enclosures, and laid them before congress. Nothing but an earnest desire to spare the farther effusion of human blood could have induced them to read a paper, containing expressions so disrespectful of his most christian majesty, the good and great ally of these states; or to consider propositions so derogatory to the honour of an independent nation.

The acts of the British parliament, the commission from your sovereign, and your letter, suppose the people

of these states to be subjects of the crown of Great-Britain, and are founded on the idea of dependence, which is utterly inadmissible.

I am further directed to inform your excellencies, that congress are inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it hath been conducted. They will, therefore, be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the king of Great-Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. The only solid proof of this disposition will be, an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these states, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies.

Though congress could not, consistently with national honour, enter on a discussion of the terms proposed by the British commissioners, yet some individuals of their body ably proved the propriety of rejecting them. Among these, Gouverneur Morris, and W. H. Drayton, with great force of argument and poignancy of wit, justified the decisive measures adopted by their countrymen.

As the British plan for conciliation was wholly founded on the idea of the states returning to their allegiance, it was no sooner known than rejected. In addition to the sacred ties of plighted faith and national engagements, the leaders in congress and the legislative assemblies of America, had tasted the sweets of power and were in full possession of its blessings, with a fair prospect of retaining them without any foreign controul. The war having originated on the part of Great-Britain from a lust of power, had in its progress compelled the Americans in self defence to assume and exercise its highest prerogatives. The passions of human nature which in-

duced the former to claim power, operated no less forcibly with the latter, against the relinquishment of it. After the colonies had declared themselves independent states, had repeatedly pledged their honour to abide by that declaration, had under the smiles of heaven maintained it for three campaigns without foreign aid, after the greatest monarch in Europe, had entered into a treaty with them, and guaranteed their independence: after all this to expect popular leaders in the enjoyment of power voluntarily to retire from the helm of government to the languid indifference of private life, and while they violated national faith, at the same time to depress their country from the rank of sovereign states to that of dependent provinces, was not more repugnant to universal experience, than to the governing principles of the human heart. The high spirited ardour of citizens in the youthful vigour of honour and dignity, did not so much as enquire whether greater political happiness might be expected from closing with the proposals of Great-Britain, or by adhering to their new allies. Honour forbade any balancing on the subject, nor were its dictates disobeyed. Though peace was desirable, and the offers of Great-Britain so liberal, that if proposed in due time, they would have been acceptable, yet for the Americans, after they had declared themselves independent, and at their own solicitation obtained the aid of France, to desert their new allies, and leave them exposed to British resentment incurred on their account, would have argued a total want of honour and gratitude. The folly of Great-Britain in expecting such conduct from virtuous freemen, could only be exceeded by the baseness of America, had her citizens realized that expectation.

These offers of conciliation in a great measure origi-

nated in an opinion that the congress was supported by a faction, and that the great body of the people was hostile to independence, and well disposed to reunite with Great-Britain. The latter of these assertions was true, till a certain period of the contest, but that period had elapsed. With their new situation, new opinions and attachments had taken place. The political revolution of the government was less extraordinary than that of the style and manner of thinking in the United States. The independent American citizens saw with other eyes, and heard with other ears, than when they were in the condition of British subjects. That narrowness of sentiment, which prevailed in England towards France, no longer existed among the Americans. The British commissioners, unapprized of this real change in the public mind, expected to keep a hold on the citizens of the United States, by that illiberality which they inherited from their forefathers. Presuming that the love of peace, and the ancient national antipathy to France, would counterbalance all other ties, they flattered themselves that by perseverance an impression favourable to Great-Britain might yet be made on the mind of America. They therefore renewed their efforts to open a negociation with congress, in a letter of the 11th of July. As they had been informed in answer to their preceding letter of the 10th of June, that an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, or a withdrawing their fleets and armies, must precede an entrance on the consideration of a treaty of peace, and as neither branch of this alternative had been complied with, it was resolved by congress, that no answer should be given to their reiterated applications.

In addition to his public exertions as a commissioner,

governor Johnstone endeavoured to obtain the objects on which he had been sent, by opening a private correspondence with some of the members of congress, and other Americans of influence. He in particular addressed himself by letter to Henry Laurens, Joseph Reed, and Robert Morris. His letter to Henry Laurens, was in these words:

DEAR SIR,

I beg to transfer to my friend, Dr. Ferguson, the private civilities which my friends, Mr. Manning and Mr. Oswald, request in my behalf. He is a man of the utmost probity, and of the highest esteem in the republic of letters.

If you should follow the example of Britain, in the hour of her insolence, and send us back without a hearing, I shall hope from private friendship, that I may be permitted to see the country, and the worthy characters she has exhibited to the world, upon making the request in any way you may point out.

*York-Town, June 14th, 1778.*

The following answer was immediately written:

DEAR SIR,

Yesterday I was honoured with your favour of the 10th, and thank you for the transmission of those from my dear and worthy friends, Mr. Oswald, and Mr. Manning. Had Dr. Ferguson been the bearer of these papers, I should have shewn that gentleman every degree of respect and attention, that times and circumstances admit of.

It is, sir, for Great-Britain to determine, whether her commissioners shall return unheard by the representatives of the United States, or revive a friendship with the citizens at large, and remain among us as long as they please.

You are undoubtedly acquainted with the only terms upon which congress can treat for accomplishing this good end, terms from which, although writing in a private character, I may venture to assert with great assurance, they never will recede, even admitting the continuance of hostile attempts, and that from the rage of war, the good people of these states, shall be driven to commence a treaty westward of yonder mountains. And permit me to add, sir, as my humble opinion, the true interest of Great-Britain, in the present advance of our contest, will be found in confirming our independence.

Congress in no hour have been haughty, but to suppose that their minds are less firm in the present than they were, when, destitute of all foreign aid, even without expectation of an alliance—when, upon a day of general public fasting and humiliation in their house of worship, and in presence of God, they resolved “to hold no conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great-Britain, unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or in positive and express terms acknowledge the independence of these states,” would be irrational.

At a proper time, sir, I shall think myself highly honoured by a personal attention, and by contributing to render every part of these states agreeable to you; but until the basis of mutual confidence shall be established, I believe, sir, neither former private friendship, nor any other consideration, can influence congress to consent, that even governor Johnstone, a gentleman who has been so deservedly esteemed in America, shall see the country. I have but one voice, and that shall be against it. But let me entreat you, my dear sir, do not hence conclude that I am deficient in affection to my old friends, through whose kindness I have obtained the honour of

the present correspondence, or that I am not with very great personal respect and esteem,

Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

(Signed)

HENRY LAURENS

Philadelphia.

*The Honourable Geo. Johnstone, Esq.*

In a letter to Joseph Reed of April the 11th, governor Johnstone said, "The man who can be instrumental in bringing us all to act once more in harmony, and to unite together the various powers which this contest has drawn forth, will deserve more from the king and people, from patriotism, humanity, and all the tender ties that are affected by the quarrel and reconciliation, than ever was yet bestowed on human kind." On the 16th of June he wrote to Robert Morris, "I believe the men who have conducted the affairs of America incapable of being influenced by improper motives, but in all such transactions there is risque, and I think, that whoever ventures should be secured, at the time that honour and émolument should naturally follow the fortune of those, who have steered the vessel in the storm, and brought her safely to port. I think Washington and the President have a right to every favour that grateful nations can bestow, if they could once more unite our interest, and spare the miseries and devastations of war."

To Joseph Reed, private information was communicated, that it had been intended by governor Johnstone, to offer him, that in case of his exerting his abilities to promote a reunion of the two countries, if consistent with his principles and judgment, ten thousand pounds sterling, and any office in the colonies in his majesty's gift. To which Mr. Reed replied, "I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am, the king of Great-

June 21.



Britain is not rich enough to do it." Congress July 9. ordered all letters, received by members of congress from any of the British commissioners, or their agents, or from any subject of the king of Great-Britain, of a public nature, to be laid before them. The above letters and information being communicated, congress resolved "That the same cannot but be considered as direct attempts to corrupt their integrity, and that it is incompatible with the honour of congress, to hold any manner of correspondence or intercourse with the said George Johnstone, esquire, especially to negotiate with him upon affairs in which the cause of liberty is interested." Their determination, with the reasons thereof, were expressed in the form of a declaration, a copy of which was signed by the president, and sent by a flag to the commissioners at New-York. This was answered by governor Johnstone, by an angry publication, in which he denied or explained away, what had been alleged against him. Lord Carlisle, sir Henry Clinton, and Mr. Eden, denied their having any knowledge of the matter charged on governor Johnstone.

The commissioners failing in their attempts to negotiate with congress, had no resource left, but to persuade the inhabitants to adopt a line of conduct counter to that of their representatives. To this purpose they published a manifesto and proclamation, addressed to congress, the assemblies, and all others the free inhabitants of the colonies, in which they observed: "The policy, as well as the benevolence of Great-Britain, have thus far checked the extremes of war, when they tended to distress a people still considered as our fellow subjects, and to desolate a country shortly to become a source of mutual advantage: but when that country professes the unnatural design not only of estranging herself from us, but of

mortgaging herself and resources to our enemies, the whole contest is changed; and the question is, how far Great-Britain may, by every means in her power, destroy or render useless a connexion contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France. Under such circumstances, the laws of self-preservation must direct the conduct of Great-Britain; and if the British colonies are to become an accession to France, will direct her to render that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy."

Congress, upon being informed of the design of the commissioners to circulate these papers, declared that the agents employed to distribute the manifestos and proclamation of the commissioners, were not entitled to protection from a flag. They also recommended to the several states to secure and keep them in close custody; but that they might not appear to hood-wink their constituents, they ordered the manifestos and proclamation to be printed in the newspapers. The proposals of the commissioners were not more favourably received by the people than they had been by congress. In some places the flags containing them were not received, but ordered instantly to depart; in others they were received, and forwarded to congress, as the only proper tribunal to take cognizance of them. In no one place, not immediately commanded by the British army, was there any attempt to accept, or even to deliberate, on the propriety of closing with the offers of Britain.

To deter the British from executing their threats of laying waste the country, congress published to the world a resolution and manifesto in which they concluded with these words:

Oct. 30. "We, therefore, the congress of the United States of America, do solemnly declare and proclaim, that if our enemies presume to execute their threats, or persist in

their present career of barbarity, we will take such exemplary vengeance as shall deter others from a like conduct. We appeal to that God who searcheth the hearts of men, for the rectitude of our intentions; and in his holy presence we declare, that as we are not moved by any light and hasty suggestions of anger and revenge, so through every possible change of fortune we will adhere to this our determination."

This was the last effort of Great-Britain, in the way of negotiation, to regain her colonies. It originated in folly, and ignorance of the real state of affairs in America. She had begun with *wrong* measures, and had now got into *wrong* time. Her concessions on this occasion, were an implied justification of the resistance of the colonists. By offering to concede all that they at first asked for, she virtually acknowledged herself to have been the aggressor in an unjust war. Nothing could be more favourable to the cementing of the friendship of the new allies, than this unsuccessful negotiation. The states had an opportunity of evincing the sincerity of their engagements, and France abundant reason to believe that by preventing their being conquered, her favourite scheme of lessening the power of Great-Britain, would be secured beyond the reach of accident.

After the termination of the campaign of 1777, the British army retired to winter quarters in Philadelphia, and the American army to Valley-Forge. The former enjoyed all the conveniences which an opulent city afforded, while the latter, not half clothed, and more than once on the point of starving, were enduring the severity of a cold winter in a huddled camp. It was well for them, that the British made no attempt to disturb them while in this destitute condition.

The winter and spring passed away without any more

remarkable events in either army, than a few successful excursions of parties from Philadelphia to the neighbouring country, for the purpose of bringing in supplies, or destroying property. In one of these, a party of the British proceeded to Bordenton, and there burned four store-houses full of useful commodities. Before they returned to Philadelphia, they burned two frigates, nine ships, six privateer sloops, twenty-three brigs, with a number of sloops and schooners.

Soon after, an excursion from Newport was made by 500 British and Hessians, under the command of lieutenant colonel Campbell. These having landed in the night, marched next morning in two bodies, the  
 May 25. one for Warren, the other for the head of Kicke-muet river. They destroyed about 70 flat bottomed boats, and burned a quantity of pitch, tar and plank. They also set fire to the meeting house at Warren, and seven dwelling houses. At Bristol they burned the church and 22 houses. Several other houses were plundered, and women were stripped of their shoe-buckles, gold rings, and handkerchiefs.

A French squadron, consisting of 12 ships of the line and 4 frigates, commanded by count D'Estaing, sailed from Toulon for America, in about two  
 Apr. 13. months after the treaty had been agreed upon between the United States and the king of France.

After a passage of 87 days, the count arrived at  
 July 9. the entrance of the Delaware. From an apprehension of something of this kind, and from the prospect of greater security, it was resolved in Great-Britain, forthwith to evacuate Philadelphia and to concentrate the royal force in the city and harbour of New-York. The commissioners brought out the orders for this movement, but knew nothing of the matter. It had

an unfriendly influence on their proposed negotiations, but it was indispensably necessary; for if the French fleet had blocked up the Delaware, and the Americans besieged Philadelphia, the escape of the British from either, would have been scarcely possible.

The royal army passed over the Delaware in-  
to New-Jersey. General Washington, having June 18.  
penetrated into their design of evacuating Philadelphia, had previously detached general Maxwell's brigade, to cooperate with the Jersey militia, in obstructing their progress, till time would be given for his army to overtake them. The British were incumbered with an enormous baggage, which, together with the impediments thrown in their way, greatly retarded their march. The American army having, in pursuit of the British, crossed the Delaware, six hundred men were immediately detached under colonel Morgan, to reinforce general Maxwell. Washington halted his troops, when they had marched to the vicinity of Princeton. The general of-  
ficers in the American army, being asked by the command-  
er in chief, "Will it be advisable to hazard a gene-  
ral action?" answered in the negative, but recom- June 24.  
mended a detachment of 1500 men to be immediately sent, to act as occasion might serve, on the enemy's left flank and rear. This was immediately forwarded under general Scott. When sir Henry Clinton had advanced to Allentown, he determined, instead of keeping the direct course towards Staten-Island, to draw towards the sea coast and to push on towards Sandy-Hook. General Washington, on receiving intelligence that sir Henry was proceeding in that direction, towards Monmouth court-house, despatched 1000 men under general Wayne, and sent the marquis de la Fayette to take command of the whole advanced corps, with orders to seize the first

fair opportunity of attacking the enemy's rear. General Lee, who having been lately exchanged, had joined the army, was offered this command, but he declined it, as he was in principle against hazarding an attack. The whole army followed at a proper distance for supporting the advanced corps, and reached Cranberry the next morning. Sir Henry Clinton, sensible of the approach of the Americans, placed his grenadiers, light-infantry, and chasseurs in his rear, and his baggage in his front. General Washington increased his advanced corps with two brigades, and sent general Lee, who now wished for the command, to take charge of the whole, and followed with the main army to give it support. On the next morning orders were sent to Lee, to move on and attack, unless there should be powerful reasons to the contrary. When Washington had marched about five miles to support the advanced corps, he found the whole of it retreating by Lee's orders, and without having made any opposition of consequence. Washington rode up to Lee, and proposed certain questions to him which implied censure. Lee answered with warmth and unsuitable language. The commander in chief ordered colonel Stewart's and lieutenant colonel Ramsay's battalions, to form on a piece of ground, which he judged suitable for giving a check to the advancing enemy. Lee was then asked if he would command on that ground, to which he consented, and was ordered to take proper measures for checking the enemy, to which he replied, "your orders shall be obeyed, and I will not be the first to leave the field." Washington then rode to the main army, which was formed with the utmost expedition. A warm cannonade immediately commenced between the British and American artillery, and a heavy firing between the advanced troops of the British army, and

the two battalions which general Washington had halted. These stood their ground, till they were intermixed with a part of the British army. Lieutenant colonel Ramsay, the commander of one of them, was wounded and taken prisoner. General Lee continued till the last on the field of battle, and brought off the rear of the retreating troops.

The check the British received, gave time to make a disposition of the left wing, and second line of the American army in the wood, and on the eminence to which Lee was retreating. On this, some cannon were placed by lord Sterling, who commanded the left wing, which, with the cooperation of some parties of infantry, effectually stopped the advance of the British in that quarter. General Greene took a very advantageous position, on the right of lord Sterling. The British attempted to turn the left flank of the Americans, but were repulsed. They also made a movement to the right, with as little success, for Greene with the artillery disappointed their design. Wayne advanced with a body of troops, and kept up so severe and well directed a fire, that the British were soon compelled to give way. They retired and took the position which Lee had before occupied. Washington resolved to attack them, and ordered general Poor to move round upon their right, and general Woodford to their left; but they could not get within reach, before it was dark. These remained on the ground which they had been directed to occupy during the night, with an intention of attacking early next morning, and the main body lay on their arms in the field to be ready for supporting them. General Washington reposed himself in his cloak, under a tree, in hopes of renewing the action the next day. But these hopes were frustrated: the British troops marched away in the

night, in such silence, that general Poor, though he lay very near them, knew nothing of their departure. They left behind them, four officers and about forty privates, all so badly wounded, that they could not be removed.

June 30.

Their other wounded were carried off. The British pursued their march without further interruption, and soon reached the neighbourhood of Sandy-Hook, without the loss of either their covering party or baggage. The American general declined all farther pursuit of the royal army, and soon after drew off his troops to the borders of the North-River. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was about 250. The loss of the royal army, inclusive of prisoners, was about 350. Lieutenant colonel Monckton, one of the British slain, on account of his singular merit, was universally lamented. Colonel Bonner, of Pennsylvania, and major Dickerson, of Virginia, officers highly esteemed by their country, fell in this engagement. The emotions of the mind, added to fatigue in a very hot day, brought on such a fatal suppression of the vital powers, that some of the Americans, and 59 of the British, were found dead on the field of battle, without any marks of violence upon their bodies.

It is probable, that Washington intended to take no farther notice of Lee's conduct in the day of action, but the latter could not brook the expressions used by the former at their first meeting, and wrote him two passionate letters. This occasioned his being arrested, and brought to trial. The charges exhibited against him were—1st. For disobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June, agreeable to repeated instructions.

2dly. For misbehaviour before the enemy, on the same day, by making an unnecessary, disorderly and shameful retreat.



3dly. For disrespect to the commander in chief in two letters. After a tedious hearing before a court-martial of which lord Stirling was president, Lee was found guilty and sentenced to be suspended from any command in the armies of the United States, for the term of one year, but the second charge was softened by the court-martial, who in their award only found him guilty of misbehaviour before the enemy, by making an unnecessary and in some few instances a disorderly retreat. Many were displeased with this sentence. They argued "that by the tenor of Lee's orders, it was submitted to his discretion, whether to attack or not, and also, that the time and manner were to be determined by his own judgment. That at one time he intended to attack, but altered his opinion on apparently good grounds. That the propriety of an attack considering the superiority of the British cavalry, and the openness of the ground, was very questionable. That though it might have distressed the enemy's rear in the first instance, it would probably have brought on a general action, before the advanced corps could have been supported by the main body, which was some miles in the rear." If said, they, "Lee's judgment was against attacking the enemy, he could not be guilty of disobeying an order for that purpose, which was suspended on the condition of his own approbation of the measure. They also agreed that a suspension from command, was not a sufficient punishment for his crimes, if really guilty. They therefore inferred a presumption of his innocence from the lenient sentence of his judges. Though there was a diversity of opinions relative to the first and second charges, all were agreed in pronouncing him guilty of disrespect to the commander in chief. The Americans had formerly idolized general Lee, but some of them

now went to the opposite extreme, and pronounced him treacherous or deficient in courage, though there was no foundation for either of these suspicions. His temper was violent, and his impatience of subordination had led him often to quarrel with those whom he was bound to respect and obey; but his courage and fidelity could not be questioned.

Soon after the battle of Monmouth, the American army took post at the White-Plains, a few miles beyond Kingsbridge, and the British, though only a few miles distant, did not molest them. They remained in this position from an early day in July, till a late one in the autumn, and then the Americans retired to Middle-Brook in Jersey, where they built themselves huts in the same manner as they had done at Valley-Forge.

Immediately on the departure of the British from Philadelphia, congress, after an absence of nine months, returned to the former seat of their deliberations. Soon after their return, they were called upon to give a public audience to a minister plenipotentiary from the court of France. The person appointed to this office, was M. Gerard, the same who had been employed in the negotiations, antecedent to the treaty. The arrival and reception of a minister from France, made a strong impression on the minds of the Americans. They felt the weight and importance to which they were risen among nations. That the same spot, which in less than a century, had been the residence of savages, should become the theatre on which the representatives of a new, free and civilized nation, gave a public audience to a minister plenipotentiary, from one of the oldest and most powerful kingdoms of Europe, afforded ample materials for philosophic contemplation. That in less than three years from the day, on which an answer was

refused by Great-Britain to the united supplications of the colonists, praying for peace, liberty and safety, they should, as an independent people, be honoured with the residence of a minister from the court of France, exceeded the expectation of the most sanguine Americans. The patriots of the new world revolved in their minds these transactions, with heart-felt satisfaction, while the devout were led to admire that Providence, which had, in so short a space, stationed the United States among the powers of the earth, and clothed them in robes of sovereignty.

The British had but barely completed the removal of their fleet and army, from the Delaware and Philadelphia to the harbour and city of New-York, when they received intelligence, that a French fleet was on the coast of America. This was commanded by count D'Estaing, and consisted of twelve ships of the line and three frigates. Among the former, one carried 90 guns, another 80, and six 74 guns each. Their first object was the surprize of lord Howe's fleet in the Delaware, but they arrived too late. In naval history, there are few more narrow escapes than that of the British fleet on this occasion. It consisted only of six 64 gun ships, three of 50, and two of 40, with some frigates and sloops. Most of these had been long on service, and were in a bad condition. Their force, when compared with that of the French fleet, was so greatly inferior, that had the latter reached the mouth of the Delaware in 75 days from its leaving Toulon, their capture, in the ordinary course of events, would have been inevitable. This stroke was providentially prevented, by the various hindrances which retarded D'Estaing in his voyage to the term of 87 days, in the last eleven of which, lord Howe's fleet not only quitted the Delaware, but reached the harbour

of New-York. D'Estaing, disappointed in his first scheme, pursued and appeared off Sandy-Hook. American pilots of the first abilities, provided for the purpose, went on board his fleet. Among them were persons, whose circumstances placed them above the ordinary rank of pilots.

The sight of the French fleet raised all the active passions of their adversaries. Transported with indignation against the French, for interfering in what they called a domestic quarrel, the British displayed a spirit of zeal and bravery which could not be exceeded. A thousand volunteers were despatched from their transports to man their fleet. The masters and mates of the merchantmen and traders at New-York, took their stations at the guns with the common sailors. Others put to sea in light vessels, to watch the motions of their enemies. The officers and privates of the British army, contended with so much eagerness to serve on board the men of war as marines, that it became necessary to decide the point of honour by lot.

The French fleet came to anchor, and continued without the Hook for eleven days. During this time, the British had the mortification of seeing the blockade of their fleet, and the capture of about 20 vessels under English colours. On the 22d, the French fleet appeared under weigh. It was an anxious moment to the British. They supposed that count D'Estaing would force his way into the harbour, and that an engagement would be the consequence. Every thing with them was at stake. Nothing less than destruction or victory would have ended the contest. If the first had been their lot, the vast fleet of transports and victuallers and the army must have fallen. The pilots on board the French fleet declared it to be impossible to carry the large ships there-

of over the bar, on account of their draught of water. D'Estaing on that account and by the advice of general Washington, left the Hook and sailed for Newport. By his departure the British had a second escape, for had he remained at the Hook but a few days longer, the fleet of admiral Byron must have fallen into his hands. That officer had been sent out to relieve lord Howe, who had solicited to be recalled, and the fleet under his command had been sent to reinforce that which had been previously on the coast of America. Admiral Byron's squadron had met with bad weather, and was separated in different storms. It now arrived, scattered, broken, sickly, dismasted, or otherwise damaged. Within eight days after the departure of the French fleet, the *Renown*, the *Raisable*, the *Centurion*, and the *Cornwall*, arrived singly at Sandy-Hook.

The next attempt of count D'Estaing was against Rhode-Island, of which the British had been in possession since December, 1776. A combined attack against it was projected, and it was agreed that general Sullivan should command the American land forces. Such was the eagerness of the people to cooperate with their new allies, and so confident were they of success, that some thousands of volunteers engaged in the service. The militia of Massachusetts was under the command of general Hancock. The royal troops on the island, having been lately reinforced, were about 6000. Sullivan's force was about 10,000. Lord Howe followed count D'Estaing, and came within sight of Rhode-Island, the day after the French fleet entered the harbour of Newport. The British fleet exceeded the French in point of number, but was inferior with respect to effective force and weight of metal. On the appearance of lord Howe, the French admiral put out to sea with his whole fleet

to engage him. While the two commanders were exerting their naval skill to gain respectively the advantages of position, a strong gale of wind came on which afterwards increased to a tempest, and greatly damaged the ships on both sides. In this conflict of the elements, two capital French ships were dismasted. The Languedoc of 90 guns, D'Estaing's own ship, after losing all her masts and her rudder, was attacked by the Renown of 50 guns, commanded by captain Dawson. The same evening the Preston of 50 guns, fell in with the Tonnant of 80 guns, with only her mainmast standing, and attacked her with spirit, but night put an end to the engagement. Six sail of the French squadron came up in the night, which saved the disabled ships from any farther attack. There was no ship or vessel lost on either side. The British suffered less in the storm than their adversaries, yet enough to make it necessary for them to return to New-York, for the purpose of refitting. The French fleet came to anchor, on the 20th, near to Rhode-Island, but sailed on the 22d, to Boston. Before they sailed, general Greene and the marquis de la Fayette went on board the Languedoc, to consult on measures proper to be pursued. They urged D'Estaing to return with his fleet into the harbour, but his principal officers were opposed to the measure, and protested against it. He had been instructed to go to Boston, if his fleet met with any misfortune. His officers insisted on his ceasing to prosecute the expedition against Rhode-Island, that he might conform to orders of their common superiors. Upon the return of general Greene and the marquis de la Fayette, and their reporting the determination of count D'Estaing, a protest was drawn up and sent to him, which was signed by John Sullivan, Nathaniel Greene, John Hancock, I. Glover, Ezekiel Cornel, William Whipple, John

Tyler, Solomon Lovell, Jon. Fitconnell. In this they protested against the count's taking the fleet to Boston, as derogatory to the honour of France, contrary to the intention of his most christian majesty, and the interest of his nation, and destructive in the highest degree to the welfare of the United States, and highly injurious to the alliance formed between the two nations. Had D'Estaing prosecuted his original plan within the harbour, either before or immediately after the pursuit of lord Howe, the reduction of the British post on Rhode-Island would have been probable; but his departure in the first instance to engage the British fleet, and in the second from Rhode-Island to Boston, frustrated the whole plan. Perhaps count D'Estaing hoped by something brilliant to efface the impressions made by his late failure at New-York. Or he might have thought it imprudent to stake his whole fleet, within an harbour possessed by his enemies.

After his ships had suffered both from battle and the storm, the letter of his instructions—the importunity of his officers, and his anxiety to have his ships speedily refitted, might have weighed with him to sail directly for Boston. Whatever were the reasons which induced his adoption of that measure, the Americans were greatly dissatisfied. They complained that they had incurred great expense and danger, under the prospect of the most effective cooperation—that depending thereon, they had risked their lives on an island, where, without naval protection, they were exposed to particular danger; that in this situation, they were first deserted, and afterwards totally abandoned, at a time, when by persevering in the original plan, they had well founded hopes of speedy success. Under these apprehensions, the discontented militia went home in such crowds, that the

regular army which remained, was in danger of being cut off from a retreat. In these embarrassing August circumstances, general Sullivan extricated himself with judgment and ability. He began to send off his heavy artillery and baggage on the 26th, and retreated from his lines on the night of the 28th. It had been that day resolved in a council of war, to remove to the north end of the island—fortify their camp, secure a communication with the main, and hold the ground till it could be known whether the French fleet would return to their assistance. The marquis de la Fayette, by desire of his associates, set off for Boston, to request the speedy return of the French fleet. To this count D'Estaing would not consent, but he made a spirited offer to lead the troops under his command, and cooperate with American land forces against Rhode-Island.

Sullivan retreated with great order, but he had not been five hours at the north end of the island, when his troops were fired upon by the British, who had pursued them on discovering their retreat. The pursuit was made by two parties on two roads, to one was opposed colonel Henry B. Livingston, to the other John Laurens, aid de camp to general Washington, and each of them had a command of light troops. In the first instance, these light troops were compelled by superior numbers to give way, but they kept up a retreating fire. On being reinforced, they gave their pursuers a check, and at length repulsed them. By degrees the action became in some respects general, and near 1200 Americans were engaged. The loss on each side was between two and three hundred.

Lord Howe's fleet, with sir Henry Clinton, and about 4000 troops on board, being seen off the coast, general Sullivan concluded immediately to evacuate Rhode-



Island. As the sentries of both armies were within 400 yards of each other, the greatest caution was necessary. To cover the design of retreating, the shew of resistance and continuance on the island was kept up. The retreat was made in the night, and mostly completed by twelve o'clock. Towards the last of it <sup>Aug. 30.</sup> the marquis de la Fayette returned from Boston. He had rode thither from Rhode-Island, a distance of near 70 miles, in 7 hours, and returned in six and a half. Anxious to partake in the engagement, his mortification was not little at being out of the way on the day before. He was in time to bring off the picquets, and other parties that covered the retreat of the American army. This he did in excellent order. Not a man was left behind, nor was the smallest article lost.

The bravery and good conduct which John Laurens displayed on this occasion, were excelled by his republican magnanimity, in declining a military commission which was conferred on him by the representatives of his country. Congress resolved, that he should be presented with a continental commission of lieutenant colonel, in testimony of the sense which they entertained of his patriotic and spirited services, and of his brave conduct in several actions, particularly in that of Rhode-Island, on the 29th of August.

On the next day he wrote to congress a letter, expressing "his gratitude for the unexpected honour which they were pleased to confer on him, and of the satisfaction it would have afforded him, could he have accepted it without injuring the rights of the officers in the line of the army, and doing an evident injustice to his colleagues, in the family of the commander in chief. That having been a spectator of the convulsions occasioned in the army by disputes of rank, he held the tranquillity

of it too dear, to be instrumental in disturbing it, and therefore intreated congress to suppress their resolve, ordering him the commission of lieutenant colonel, and to accept his sincere thanks for the intended honour."

With the abortive expedition to Rhode-Island, there was an end to the plans, which were in this first campaign projected by the allies of congress, for a cooperation. The Americans had been intoxicated with hopes of the most decisive advantages, but in every instance they were disappointed. Lord Howe, with an inferiority of force, not only preserved his own fleet, but counteracted and defeated all the views and attempts of count D'Estaing. The French fleet gained no direct advantages for the Americans, yet their arrival was of great service to their cause. Besides deranging the plans of the British, it carried conviction to their minds that his most christian majesty was seriously disposed to support them. The good will of their new allies was manifested to the Americans, and though it had failed in producing the effects expected from it, the failure was charged to winds, weather, and unavoidable incidents. Some censured count D'Estaing, but while they attempted to console themselves, by throwing blame on him, they felt and acknowledged their obligation to the French nation, and were encouraged to persevere in the war, from the hope that better fortune would attend their future cooperation.

Sir Henry Clinton finding that the Americans had left Rhode-Island, returned to New-York, but directed general Grey, to proceed to Bedford and the neighbourhood, where several American privateers resorted. On reaching the place of their destination, the general's party landed, and in a few hours destroyed about 70 sail of shipping, besides a number of small craft. They

Sept. 5.

also burnt magazines, wharves, stores, warehouses, vessels on the stocks, and a considerable number of dwelling houses. The buildings burned in Bedford, were estimated to be worth 20,000*l.* sterling. The other articles destroyed were worth much more. The royal troops proceeded to Martha's vineyard. There they destroyed a few vessels and made a requisition of the militia arms, the public money, 300 oxen and 2000 sheep, which was complied with.

A similar expedition under the command of captain Ferguson, was about the same time undertaken against Little Egg-Harbour, at which place the Americans had a number of privateers and prizes, and also some salt-works. Several of the vessels got off, but all that were found were destroyed. Previous to the embarkation of the British from Egg-Harbour for New-York, Oct. 5. captain Ferguson, with about 250 men, surprized and put to death about fifty of a party of Americans, who were posted in the vicinity. The attack being made in the night, little or no quarter was given.

The loss sustained by the British in these several excursions was trifling, but the advantages was considerable, from the supplies they procured, and the check which was given to American privateers.

One of the most disastrous events which occurred at this period of the campaign, was the surprize and massacre of an American regiment of light dragoons, commanded by lieutenant colonel Baylor. While employed in a detached situation, to intercept and watch a British foraging party, they took up their lodging in a barn near Taapan. The officer who commanded the party which surprized them, was major general Grey. He acquired the name of the "No flint general," from his common practice of ordering the men under his com-

mand to take the flints out of their muskets, that they might be confined to the use of their bayonets. A party of militia, which had been stationed on the road by which the British advanced, quitted their post, without giving any notice to colonel Baylor. This disorderly conduct was the occasion of the disaster which followed. Grey's men proceeded with such silence and address, that they cut off a serjeant's patrol without noise, and surrounded old Taapan without being discovered. They then rushed in upon Baylor's regiment, while they were in a profound sleep. Incapable of defence or resistance, cut off from every prospect of selling their lives dear, the surprized dragoons sued for quarters. Unmoved by their supplications, their adversaries applied the bayonet, and continued its repeated thrusts while objects could be found in which any signs of life appeared. A few escaped, and others, after having received from five to eleven bayonet wounds in the trunk of the body, were restored, in a course of time, to perfect health. Baylor himself was wounded, but not dangerously: he lost, in killed, wounded and taken, 67 privates, out of 104. About 40 were made prisoners. These were indebted for their lives, to the humanity of one of Grey's captains, who gave quarters to the whole fourth troop, though contrary to the orders of his superior officers. The circumstance of the attack being made in the night, when neither order nor discipline can be observed, may apologize in some degree, with men of a certain description, for this bloody scene. It cannot be maintained, that the laws of war require that quarters should be given in similar assaults; but the lovers of mankind must ever contend, that the laws of humanity are of superior obligation to those of war. The truly brave will spare when resistance ceases, and in every case where

it can be done with safety. The perpetrators of such actions may justly be denominated the enemies of refined society. As far as their example avails, it tends to arrest the growing humanity of modern times, and to revive the barbarism of Gothic ages. On these principles, the massacre of colonel Baylor's regiment was the subject of much complaint. The particulars of it were ascertained, by the oaths of sundry credible witnesses, taken before governor Livingston, of Jersey, and the whole was submitted to the judgment of the public.

In the summer of this year, an expedition was undertaken against East-Florida. This was resolved upon, with the double view of protecting the state of Georgia from depredation, and of causing a di-<sup>1778.</sup> version. General Robert Howe, who conducted it, had under his command about 2000 men, a few hundred of which were continental troops, and the remainder militia of the states of South-Carolina and Georgia. They proceeded as far as St. Mary's river, and without any opposition of consequence. At this place, the British had erected a fort, which, in compliment to Tonyn, governor of the province, was called by his name. On the approach of general Howe, they destroyed this fort, and after some slight skirmishing, retreated towards St. Augustine. The season was more fatal to the Americans than any opposition they experienced from their enemies. Sickness and death raged to such a degree that an immediate retreat became necessary; but before this was effected, they lost nearly one fourth of their whole number.

The royal commissioners having failed in their attempts to induce the Americans to resume the character of British subjects, and the successive plans of coope-

ration between the new allies, having also failed, a solemn pause ensued. It would seem as if the commissioners indulged a hope, that the citizens of the United States, on finding a disappointment of their expectation from the French, would reconsider and accept the offers of Great-Britain. Full time was given, both for the circulation of their manifesto, and for observing its effects on the public mind, but no overtures were made to them from any quarter. The year was drawing near to a close, before any interesting expedition was undertaken.

With this new era, a new system was introduced. Hitherto the conquest of the states had been attempted by proceeding from north to south: but that order was henceforth inverted, and the southern states became the principal theatre on which the British conducted their offensive operations. Georgia being one of the weakest states in the union, and at the same time abounding in provisions, was marked out as the first object of renewed

warfare. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, an officer of  
Nov. 27. known courage and ability, embarked from New-York, for Savannah, with a force of about 2000 men, under convoy of some ships of war, commanded by commodore Hyde Parker. To make more sure of success in the enterprize, major general Prevost, who commanded the royal forces in East-Florida, was directed to advance with them into the southern extremity of Georgia.

The fleet that sailed from New-York, in about  
Dec. 23. three weeks effected a landing near the mouth of the river Savannah. From the landing place a narrow causeway of six hundred yards in length, with a ditch on each side, led through a swamp. A body of the British light infantry moved forward along this causeway. On their advance they received a heavy fire, from a small party under captain Smith, posted for the purpose of impeding

their passage. Captain Cameron was killed, but the British made their way good, and compelled captain Smith to retreat. General Howe, the American officer, to whom the defence of Georgia was committed, took his station on the main road, and posted his little army, consisting of about 600 continentals, and a few hundred militia, between the landing place and the town of Savannah, with the river on his left and a morass in front. This disposition announced great difficulties to be overcome, before the Americans could be dislodged. While colonel Campbell was making the necessary arrangements for this purpose, he received intelligence from a negro, of a private path through the swamp, on the right of the Americans, which lay in such a situation, that the British troops might march through it unobserved. Sir James Baird, with the light infantry, was directed to avail himself of this path, in order to turn the right wing of the Americans, and attack the rear. As soon as it was supposed that sir James Baird had cleared his passage, the British in front of the Americans were directed to advance and engage. Howe, finding himself attacked in the rear as well as in front, ordered an immediate retreat. The British pursued with great execution. Their victory was complete. Upwards of 100 of the Americans were killed. Thirty-eight officers, 415 privates, 48 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, the fort with its ammunition and stores, the shipping in the river, a large quantity of provisions, with the capital of Georgia, were all, in the space of a few hours, in the possession of the conquerors. The broken remains of the American army retreated up the river Savannah for several miles, and then took shelter by crossing into South-Carolina. Agreeably to instructions, general Prevost had marched from East-Florida about the same time that the

embarkation took place from New-York. After encountering many difficulties, the king's troops from St. Augustine reached the inhabited parts of Georgia, and there heard the welcome tidings of the arrival and success of colonel Campbell. Savannah having fallen, the fort at Sunbury surrendered. General Prevost marched to Savannah, and took the command of the combined forces from New-York and St. Augustine. Previous to his arrival, a proclamation had been issued, to encourage the inhabitants to come in and submit to the conquerors, with promises of protection, on condition, that with their arms they would support royal government.

Lieutenant colonel Campbell acted with great policy, in securing the submission of the inhabitants. He did more in a short time, and with comparatively a few men, towards the reestablishment of the British interest, than all the general officers who had preceded him. He not only extirpated military opposition, but subverted for some time every trace of republican government, and paved the way for the reestablishment of a royal legislature. Georgia, soon after the reduction of its capital, exhibited a singular spectacle. It was the only state in the union, in which after the declaration of independence, a legislative body was convened under the authority of the crown of Great-Britain. The moderation and prudence of lieutenant colonel Campbell were more successful in reconciling the minds of the citizens to their former constitution, than the severe measures which had been generally adopted by other British commanders.

The errors of the first years of the war forced on congress some useful reforms, in the year 1778. The insufficiency of the provision made for the support of the officers of their army, had induced the resignation of between two and three hundred of them, to the great injury



of the service. From a conviction of the justice and policy of making commissions valuable, and from respect to the warm, but disinterested recommendations of general Washington, congress resolved "That half pay should be allowed to their officers, for the term April. of seven years, after the expiration of their service." This was afterwards extended to the end of their lives. And finally, that was commuted for full pay, for five years. Resignations were afterwards rare, and the states reaped the benefit of experienced officers continuing in service, till the war was ended.

A system of more regular discipline was introduced into the American army, by the industry, abilities and judicious regulations of Baron de Steuben, a most excellent disciplinarian, who had served under the king of Prussia. A very important reform took place in the medical department, by appointing different officers, to discharge the directing and purveying business of the military hospitals, which had been before united in the same hands. Dr. Rush was principally instrumental in effecting this beneficial alteration. Some regulations which had been adopted for limiting the prices of commodities, being found not only impracticable, but injurious, were abolished.

A few detached events, which could not be introduced without interrupting the narrative of the great events of the campaign, shall close this chapter.

Captain James Willing, in the service of the United States, arrived with a few men from Fort Pitt, at the Natches, a British settlement in West-Florida. Feb. 19. He sent out parties, who without any resistance, made the inhabitants prisoners. Articles of agreement were entered into between them and captain Willing, by which they promised to observe a neutrality in the pre-

sent contest, and in return it was engaged, that their property should be unmolested.

**The Randolph**, an American frigate of 36 guns and 305 men, commanded by captain Biddle, having  
Mar. 7. sailed on a cruise from Charleston, fell in with the **Yarmouth** of 64 guns, and engaged in the night. In about a quarter of an hour, the **Randolph** blew up. Four men only were saved, upon a piece of her wreck. These had subsisted for four days on nothing but rain water, which they sucked from a piece of blanket. On the 5th day, captain Vincent of the **Yarmouth**, though in chase of a ship, on discovering them, suspended the chase and took them on board. Captain Biddle, who perished on board the **Randolph**, was universally lamented. He was in the prime of life, and had excited high expectations of future usefulness to his country, as a bold and skilful naval officer.

**Major Talbot** took the British schooner **Pigot**,  
Oct. 29. of 8 12 pounders, as she lay on the eastern side of Rhode-Island. The major, with a number of troops on board a small vessel, made directly for the **Pigot** in the night, and sustaining the fire of her marines, reserved his own till he had run his jib-boom through her fore shrouds. He then fired some cannon, and threw in a volley of musquetry, loaded with bullets and buck-shot, and immediately boarded her. The captain made a gallant resistance, but he was not seconded by his crew. **Major Talbot** soon gained undisturbed possession, and carried off his prize in safety. Congress, as a reward of his merit, presented him with the commission of lieutenant colonel.

to take bail for his appearance at the court of king's-bench. When the words of the recognizance, "our sovereign lord and king," were read to Mr. Laurens, he replied in open court, "not my sovereign," and with this declaration he, with Mr. Oswald and Mr. Anderson as his securities, entered into an obligation for his appearance at the court of king's-bench the next Easter term, and for not departing thence without leave of the court. Thus ended a long and painful farce. Mr. Laurens was immediately released. When the time of his appearance at court drew near, he was not only discharged from all obligations to attend, but was requested by lord Shelburne to go to the continent, in subserviency to a scheme for making peace with America. Mr. Laurens, startled at the idea of being released without any equivalent, as he had uniformly held himself to be a prisoner of war, replied, that "He durst not accept himself as a gift, and that as congress had once offered lieutenant general Burgoyne for him, he had no doubt of their now giving lieutenant general earl Cornwallis for the same purpose."

---

## APPENDIX,

### No. III.

*Of the treatment of prisoners, and of the distresses of the inhabitants.*

**MANY** circumstances concurred to make the American war particularly calamitous. It was originally a civil war in the estimation of both parties, and a rebellion

to its termination, in the opinion of one of them. Unfortunately for mankind, doubts have been entertained of the obligatory force of the law of nations in such cases. The refinement of modern ages has stripped war of half its horrors, but the systems of some illiberal men have tended to reproduce the barbarism of Gothic times, by withholding the benefits of that refinement from those who are effecting revolutions. An enlightened philanthropist embraces the whole human race, and enquires not whether an object of distress is or is not an unit of an acknowledged nation. It is sufficient that he is a child of the same common parent, and capable of happiness or misery. The prevalence of such a temper would have greatly lessened the calamities of the American war; but while from contracted policy unfortunate captives were considered as not entitled to the treatment of prisoners, they were often doomed without being guilty, to suffer the punishment due to criminals.

The first American prisoners were taken on the 17th of June, 1774. These were thrown indiscriminately into the jail at Boston, without any consideration of their rank. General Washington wrote to general Gage on this subject, to which the latter answered <sup>Aug. 11, 1775.</sup> by asserting that the prisoners had been treated with care and kindness, though indiscriminately, "as he acknowledged no rank that was not derived from the king." To which general Washington replied, "You affect, sir, to despise all rank not derived from the same source with your own; I cannot conceive one more honourable, than that which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the purest source and original fountain of all power.

General Carleton, during his command, conducted towards the American prisoners with a degree of hu-

manity, that reflected the greatest honour on his character. Before he commenced his operations on the lakes in 1776, he shipped off those of them who were officers for New-England, but previously supplied them with every thing requisite to make their voyage comfortable. The other prisoners, amounting to 800, were sent home by a flag after exacting an oath from them, not to serve during the war unless exchanged. Many of these being almost naked were comfortably clothed by his orders, previously to their being sent off.

The capture of general Lee proved calamitous to several individuals. Six Hessian field officers were offered in exchange for him, but this was refused. It was said by the British, that Lee was a deserter from their service, and as such could not expect the indulgences usually given to prisoners of war. The Americans replied, that as he had resigned his British commission previously to his accepting one from the Americans, he could not be considered as a deserter. He was nevertheless confined, watched and guarded. Congress thereupon resolved, that general Washington be directed to inform general Howe, that should the proffered exchange of general Lee for six field officers not be accepted, and the treatment of him as above mentioned be continued, the principles of retaliation should occasion five of the said Hessian field officers, together with lieutenant colonel Archibald Campbell, to be detained, in order that the said treatment which general Lee received, should be exactly inflicted on their persons." The Campbell thus designated as the subject of retaliation, was a humane man, and a meritorious officer, who had been captured by some of the Massachusetts privateers near Boston, to which, for want of information, he was proceeding soon after the British had evacuated it. The

above act of congress was forwarded to Massachusetts, with a request that they would detain lieutenant colonel Campbell, and keep him in safe custody till the further order of congress. The council of Massachusetts exceeded this request, and sent him to Concord jail, where he was lodged in a gloomy dungeon of twelve or thirteen feet square. The attendance of a single servant on his person was denied him, and every visit from a friend refused.

The prisoners captured by sir William Howe in 1776, amounted to many hundreds. The officers were admitted to parole, and had some waste houses assigned to them as quarters; but the privates were shut up in the coldest season of the year, in churches, sugar-houses, and such like large open buildings. The severity of the weather, and the rigour of their treatment, occasioned the death of many hundreds of these unfortunate men. The filth of the places of their confinement, in consequence of fluxes which prevailed among them, was both offensive and dangerous. Seven dead bodies have been seen in one building, at one time, and all lying in a situation shocking to humanity. The provisions served out to them were deficient in quantity, and of an unwholesome quality. These suffering prisoners were generally pressed to enter into the British service, but hundreds submitted to death, rather than procure a melioration of their circumstances, by enlisting with the enemies of their country. After general Washington's successes at Trenton and Princeton, the American prisoners fared somewhat better. Those who survived were ordered to be sent out for exchange, but some of them fell down dead in the streets, while attempting to walk to the vessels. Others were so emaciated that their appearance was horrible. A speedy death closed the scene with many.

Dec. 1,  
1777. The American board of war, after conferring with Mr. Boudinot, the commissary general of prisoners, and examining evidences produced by him, reported among other things, "That there were 900 privates and 300 officers of the American army, prisoners in the city of New-York, and about 500 privates and 50 officers prisoners in Philadelphia. That since the beginning of October, all these prisoners, both officers and privates, had been confined in prison ships or the provost: that from the best evidence the subject could admit of, the general allowance of prisoners, at most, did not exceed four ounces of meat per day, and often so damaged as not to be eatable: that it had been a common practice with the British, on a prisoner's being first captured, to keep him three, four or five days, without a morsel of meat, and then to tempt him to enlist to save his life: that there were numerous instances of prisoners of war perishing in all the agonies of hunger."

Dec. 24,  
1777. About this time there was a meeting of merchants in London, for the purpose of raising a sum of money to relieve the distresses of the American prisoners then in England. The sum subscribed for that purpose amounted in two months to 4647*l.* 15*s.* Thus while human nature was dishonoured by the cruelties of some of the British in America, there was a laudable display of the benevolence of others of the same nation in Europe. The American sailors, when captured by the British, suffered more than even the soldiers which fell into their hands. The former were confined on board prison ships. They were there crowded together in such numbers, and their accommodations were so wretched, that diseases broke out and swept them off in a manner that was sufficient to excite com-

passion in breasts of the least sensibility. It has been asserted, on as good evidence as the case will admit, that in the last six years of the war, upwards of eleven thousand persons died on board the Jersey, one of these prison ships, which was stationed in East-River, near New-York. On many of these, the rights of sepulture were never or but very imperfectly conferred. For some time after the war ended, their bones lay whitening in the sun, on the shores of Long-Island.

The operations of treason laws added to the calamities of the war. Individuals on both sides, while they were doing no more than they supposed to be their duty, were involved in the penal consequences of capital crimes. The Americans, in conformity to the usual policy of nations, demanded the allegiance of all who resided among them, but several of these preferred the late royal government, and were disposed, when opportunity offered, to support it. While they acted in conformity to these sentiments, the laws enacted for the security of the new government, condemned them to death. Hard is the lot of a people involved in civil war; for in such circumstances the lives of individuals may not only be legally forfeited, but justly taken from those, who have acted solely from a sense of duty. It is to be wished that some more rational mode than war might be adopted for deciding national contentions; but of all wars, those which are called civil, are most to be dreaded. They are attended with the bitterest resentments, and produce the greatest quantity of human woes. In the American war, the distresses of the country were aggravated, from the circumstance that every man was obliged, some way or other, to be in the public service. In Europe, where military operations are carried on by armies hired and paid for the purpose, the common peo-



ple partake but little of the calamities of war; but in America, where the whole people were enrolled as a militia, and where both sides endeavoured to strengthen themselves by oaths and by laws, denouncing the penalties of treason on those who aided or abetted the opposite party, the sufferings of individuals were renewed, as often as fortune varied her standard. Each side claimed the cooperation of the inhabitants, and was ready to punish when it was withheld. Where either party had a decided superiority the common people were comparatively undisturbed; but the intermediate space between the contending armies, was subject to the alternate ravages of both.

In the first institution of the American governments, the boundaries of authority were not properly fixed. Committees exercised legislative, executive and judicial powers. It is not to be doubted, that in many instances these were improperly used, and that private resentments were often covered under the specious veil of patriotism. The sufferers in passing over to the royalists, carried with them a keen remembrance of the vengeance of committees, and when opportunity presented, were tempted to retaliate. From the nature of the case, the original offenders were less frequently the objects of retaliation, than those who were entirely innocent. One instance of severity begat another, and they continued to increase in a proportion that doubled the evils of common war. From one unadvised step, individuals were often involved in the loss of all their property. Some from present appearances, apprehending that the British would finally conquer, repaired to their standard. Their return after the partial storm which intimidated them to submission, had blown over, was always difficult and often impossible. From this single error in

judgment, such were often obliged to seek safety by continuing to support the interest of those to whom, in an hour of temptation, they had devoted themselves. The embarrassments on both sides were often so great, that many in the humbler walks of life, could not tell what course was best to pursue. It was happy for those who, having made up their minds on the nature of the contest, invariably followed the dictates of their consciences, for in every instance they enjoyed self-approbation. Though they could not be deprived of this reward, they were not always successful in saving their property. They who varied with the times, in like manner often missed their object, for to such it frequently happened, that they were plundered by both, and lost the esteem of all. A few saved their credit and their property; but of these, there was not one for every hundred of those, who were materially injured either in the one or the other. The American whigs were exasperated against those of their fellow citizens who joined their enemies, with a resentment which was far more bitter, than that which they harboured against their European adversaries. Feeling that the whole strength of the states was scarcely sufficient to protect them against the British, they could not brook the desertion of their countrymen to invading foreigners. They seldom would give them credit for acting from principle, but generally supposed them to be influenced either by cowardice or interest, and were therefore inclined to proceed against them with rigour. They were filled with indignation at the idea of fighting for the property of such as had deserted their country, and were therefore clamorous that it should be siezed for public service. The royalists raised the cry of persecution, and loudly complained, that merely for supporting the gov-

ernment under which they were born, and to which they owed a natural allegiance, they were doomed to suffer all the penalties due to capital offenders. Those of them who acted from principle felt no consciousness of guilt, and could not look but with abhorrence upon a government which inflicted such severe punishments on what they deemed a laudable line of conduct. Humanity would shudder at a particular recital of the calamities which the whigs inflicted on the tories, and the tories on the whigs. It is particularly remarkable, that on both sides, they for the most part consoled themselves with the belief, that they were acting or suffering in a good cause. Though the rules of moral right and wrong never vary, political innocence and guilt changes so much with circumstances, that the innocence of the sufferer, and of the party that punishes, are often compatible. The distresses of the American prisoners in the southern states, prevailed particularly towards the close of the war. Colonel Campbell, who reduced Savannah, though he had personally suffered from the Americans, treated all who fell into his hands with humanity. Those who were taken at Savannah and at Ashe's defeat, suffered very much from his successors in South-Carolina. The American prisoners, with a few exceptions, had but little to complain of till after Gates' defeat. Soon after that event, sundry of them, though entitled to the benefits of the capitulation of Charleston, were separated from their families and sent into exile; others, in violation of the same solemn agreement, were crowded into prison ships, and deprived of the use of their property. When a general exchange of prisoners was effected, the wives and children of those inhabitants who had adhered to the Americans, were exiled from their homes to Virginia and Philadelphia. Upwards of

one thousand persons were thrown upon the charity of their fellow citizens in the more northern states. This severe treatment was the occasion of retaliating on the families of those who had taken part with the British. In the first months of the year 1781, the British were in force in the remotest settlements of South-Carolina; but as their limits were contracted in the course of the year, the male inhabitants who joined them, thought proper to retire with the royal army towards the capital. In retaliation for the expulsion of the wives and children of the whig Americans from this state, governor Rutledge ordered the brigadiers of militia, to send within the British lines the families of such of the inhabitants as adhered to their interest. In consequence of this order, and more especially in consequence of the one which occasioned it, several hundreds of helpless women and children were reduced to great distress.

The refugees who had fled to New-York, were formed into an association under sir Henry Clinton, for the purpose of retaliating on the Americans, and for reimbursing the losses they had sustained from their countrymen. The depredations they committed in their several excursions would fill a volume, and would answer little purpose but to excite compassion and horror. Towards the close of the war, they began to retaliate on a bolder scale. Captain Joshua Huddy, who commanded a small party of Americans at a block house, in Monmouth county, New-Jersey, was, after a gallant resistance, taken prisoner by a party of these refugees. He was brought to New-York and there kept in close custody fifteen days, and then told "that he was" <sup>April 2.</sup> ordered to be hanged." Four days after, he was sent out with a party of refugees, and hanged on the heights of Middletown. The following label was affixed to his

breast: "We the refugees having long with grief beheld the cruel murders of our brethren, and finding nothing but such measures daily carrying into execution; we therefore determine not to suffer without taking vengeance for the numerous cruelties, and thus begin, and have made use of captain Huddy as the first object to present to our view, and further determine to hang man for man, while there is a refugee existing: up goes Huddy for Philip White." The Philip White in retaliation for whom Huddy was hanged, had been taken by a party of the Jersey militia, and was killed in attempting to make his escape.

General Washington resolved on retaliation for this deliberate murder, but instead of immediately executing a British officer, he wrote to sir Henry Clinton, that unless the murderers of Huddy were given up, he should be under the necessity of retaliating. The former being refused, captain Asgill was designated by lot for that purpose. In the mean time the British instituted a court martial for the trial of captain Lippencutt, who was supposed to be the principal agent in executing captain Huddy. It appeared in the course of this trial, that governor Franklin, the president of the board of associated loyalists, gave Lippencutt verbal orders for what he did, and that he had been designated as a proper subject for retaliation, having been, as the refugees stated, a persecutor of the loyalists, and particularly as having been instrumental in hanging Stephen Edwards, who had been one of that description. The court having considered the whole matter, gave their opinion, "That as what Lippencutt did was not the effect of malice or ill will, but proceeded from a conviction that it was his duty to obey the orders of the board of directors of associated loyalists, and as he did not doubt their having full authority

to give such orders, he was not guilty of the murder laid to his charge, and therefore they acquitted him." Sir Guy Carleton, who a little before this time had been appointed commander in chief, of the British army, in a letter to general Washington, accompanying the trial of Lippencutt, declared "that notwithstanding the acquittal of Lippencutt, he reprobated the measure, and gave assurances of prosecuting a farther enquiry." Sir Guy Carleton about the same time broke up the board of associated loyalists, which prevented a repetition of similar excesses. The war also drawing near a close, the motives for retaliation, as tending to prevent other murders, in a great measure ceased. In the mean time general Washington received a letter from the count de Vergennes interceding for captain Asgill, which was also accompanied with a very pathetic one from his mother, Mrs. Asgill, to the count. Copies of these several letters were forwarded to congress, and soon after they resolved, "that the commander in chief be directed to set captain Asgill at liberty." The lovers of humanity rejoiced that the necessity for retaliation was superceded, by the known humanity of the new commander in chief, and still more by the well founded prospect of a speedy peace. Asgill, who had received every indulgence, and who had been treated with all possible politeness, was released and permitted to go into New-York.

Nov. 7.  
1782.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

*Campaign of 1782. Foreign events and negociations.  
Peace, 1782.*

**AFTER** the capture of lord Cornwallis, general Washington, with the greatest part of his force, returned to the the vicinity of New-York. He was in no condition to attempt the reduction of that post, and the royal army had good reasons for not urging hostilities without their lines. An obstruction of the communication between town and country, some indecisive skirmishes, and predatory excursions, were the principal evidences of an existing state of war. This in a great measure was also the case in South-Carolina. From December 1781, general Greene had possession of all the state except Charleston and the vicinity. The British sometimes sallied out of their lines for the acquisition of property and provisions, but never for the purposes of conquest. In op-  
Aug. 27, posing one of these near Combahee, lieutenant  
1782. colonel John Laurens, an accomplished officer, of uncommon merit, was mortally wounded. Nature had adorned him with a large proportion of her choicest gifts, and these were highly cultivated by an elegant, useful and practical education. His patriotism was of the most ardent kind. The moment he was of age, he broke off from the amusements of London, and on his arrival in America, instantly joined the army. Wherever the war raged most, there was he to be found. A dauntless bravery was the least of his virtues, and an excess of it his greatest foible. His various talents fitted him to shine in courts or camps, or popular assemblies. He had a heart to conceive, a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade,

and a hand to execute schemes of the most extensive utility to his country, or rather to mankind, for his enlarged philanthropy, knowing no bounds, embraced the whole human race. This excellent young man, who was the pride of his country, the idol of the army, and an ornament of human nature, lost his life in the 27th year of his age, in an unimportant skirmish with a foraging party, in the very last moments of the war.

At the commencement of the year 1782, the British had a more extensive range in Georgia, than in any other of the United States, but of this they were soon abridged. From the unsuccessful issue of the assault on Savannah in 1779, that state had eminently suffered the desolations of war. Political hatred raged to such a degree that the blood of its citizens was daily shed by the hands of each other, contending under the names of whigs and tories. A few of the friends of the revolution kept together in the western settlements, and exercised the powers of independent government. The whole extent between these and the capital, was subject to the alternate ravages of both parties. After the surrender of lord Cornwallis, general Greene, being reinforced by the Pennsylvania line, was enabled to detach general Wayne with a part of the southern army to Georgia. General Clarke, who commanded in Savannah, on hearing of their advance, sent orders to his officers in the out posts, to burn as far as they could, all the provisions in the country, and then to retire within the lines at the capital. The country being evacuated by the British, the governor came with his council from Augusta to Ebenezer, and reestablished government in the vicinity of the sea coast.

Colonel Brown, at the head of a considerable force, marched out of the garrison of Savannah, May 21,  
1782.



with the apparent intention of attacking the Americans. General Wayne, by a bold manœuvre, got in his rear, attacked him at 12 o'clock at night, and routed his whole party. A large number of Creek Indians, headed by a number of their chiefs and a British officer, made a furious attack on Wayne's infantry in the night. For a few minutes they possessed themselves of his field pieces, but they were soon recovered. In the mean time colonel White, with a party of the cavalry, came up, and pressed hard upon them. Both sides engaged in close quarters. The Indians displayed uncommon bravery, but were at length completely routed. Shortly after this affair, a period was put to the calamities of war in that ravaged state. In about three months after the capture of lord Cornwallis was known in Great-Britain, the parliament resolved to abandon all offensive operations in America. In consequence thereof, every idea of conquest being given up, arrangements were made for withdrawing the royal forces from Georgia and South-Carolina. Peace was restored to Georgia, after it had been upwards of three years in possession of the British, and had been ravaged nearly from one extreme to the other. It is computed that the state lost by the war, one thousand of its citizens, besides four thousand slaves. In about five months after the British left Georgia, they in like manner withdrew their force from South-Carolina. The inhabitants of Charleston, who had remained therein while it was possessed by the British, felt themselves happy in being delivered from the severities of a garrison life. The exiled citizens collected from all quarters and took possession of their estates. Thus in less than three years from the landing of the British in South-Carolina, they withdrew all their forces from it. In that time the citizens had suffered an accumulation

of evils. There was scarcely an inhabitant, however obscure in character or remote in situation, whether he remained firm to one party or changed with the times, who did not partake of the general distress.

In modern Europe the revolutions of public affairs seldom disturb the humble obscurity of private life; but the American revolution involved the interest of every family, and deeply affected the fortunes and happiness of almost every individual in the United States. South-Carolina lost a great number of its citizens, and upwards of 20,000 of its slaves. Property was sported with by both parties. Besides those who fell in battle, or died of diseases brought on by the war, many were inhumanly murdered by private assassinations. The country abounded with widows and orphans. The severities of a military life cooperating with the climate, destroyed the healths and lives of many hundreds of the invading army. Excepting those who enriched themselves by plunder, and a few successful speculators, no private advantage was gained by individuals on either side, but an experimental conviction of the folly and madness of war.

Though in the year 1782, the United States afforded few great events, the reverse was the case with the other powers involved in the consequences of the American war.

Minorca, after a tedious siege, surrendered to the duke de Crillon, in the service of his most catholic majesty. About the same time the settlements of Demarara and Essequibo, which in the preceding year had been taken by the British, were taken from them by the French. The gallant marquis de Bouille added to the splendour of his former fame, by reducing St Eustatia, and St. Kitts, the former at the close of Feb. 5.

the year 1781, and the latter early in the year 1782. The islands of Nevis and Montserrat followed the fortune of St. Kitts. The French at this period seemed to be established in the West-Indies, on a firm foundation. Their islands were full of excellent troops, and their marine force was truly respectable. The exertions of Spain were also uncommonly great. The strength of these two monarchies had never before been so conspicuously displayed in that quarter of the globe. Their combined navies amounted to three score ships of the line, and these were attended with a prodigious multitude of frigates and armed vessels. With this immense force they entertained hopes of wresting from his Britannic majesty a great part of his West-India islands.

In the mean time, the British ministry prepared a strong squadron, for the protection of their possessions in that quarter. This was commanded by admiral Rodney, and amounted, after a junction with sir Samuel Hood's squadron, and the arrival of three ships from Great-Britain, to 36 sail of the line.

It was the design of count de Grasse, who commanded the French fleet at Martinique, amounting to 34 sail of the line, to proceed to Hispaniola and join the Spanish admiral don Solano, who with sixteen ships of the line, and a considerable land force was waiting for his arrival, and to make, in concert with him, an attack on Jamaica.

The British admiral wished to prevent this junction, or at least to force an engagement before it was effected.

Admiral Rodney came up with count de Grasse, Apr. 8. soon after he had set out to join the Spanish fleet at Hispaniola. Partial engagements took place on the three first days, after they came near to each other.

In these, two of the French ships were so badly damaged, that they were obliged to quit the fleet. On the next day a general engagement took place: Apr. 12. this began at seven in the morning, and continued till past six in the evening. There was no apparent superiority on either side till between twelve and one o'clock, when admiral Rodney broke the French line of battle, by bearing down upon their centre, and penetrating through it. The land forces, destined for the expedition against Jamaica, amounting to 5500 men, were distributed on board the French fleet. Their ships were therefore so crowded, that the slaughter on board was prodigious. The battle was fought on both sides with equal spirit, but with a very unequal issue. The French for near a century, had not in any naval engagement been so completely worsted. Their fleet was little less than ruined: Upwards of 400 men were killed on board one of the ships, and the whole number of their killed and wounded amounted to several thousands, while the loss of the British did not much exceed 1100 men. The French lost in this action, and the subsequent pursuit, eight ships of the line. On board the captured ships, was the whole train of artillery, with the battering cannon and travelling carriages, intended for the expedition against Jamaica. One of them was the *Ville de Paris*, so called from the city of Paris having built her at its own expense, and made a present of her to the king. She had cost four millions of livres, and was esteemed the most magnificent ship in France; she carried 110 guns, and had on board 1300 men. This was truly an unfortunate day to count de Grasse. Though his behaviour throughout the whole action was firm and intrepid, and his resistance continued till he and two more were the only men left standing upon the upper

deck, he was at last obliged to strike. It was no small addition to his misfortunes that he was on the point of forming a junction, which would have set him above all danger. Had this taken place, the whole British naval power in the West-Indies, on principles of ordinary calculation, would have been insufficient to have prevented him from carrying into effect, schemes of the most extensive consequence.

The ships of the defeated fleet fled in a variety of directions. Twenty-three or twenty-four sail made the best of their way to Cape Francois. This was all that remained in a body of that fleet, which was lately so formidable. By this signal victory, the designs of France and Spain were frustrated. No farther enterprizes were undertaken against the fleets or possessions of Great-Britain in the West-Indies, and such measures only were embraced, as seemed requisite for the purposes of safety. When the news of admiral Rodney's victory reached Great-Britain, a general joy was diffused over the nation. Before, there had been much despondency. Their losses in the Chesapeake and in the West-Indies, together with the increasing number of their enemies, had depressed the spirits of the great body of the people; but the advantages gained on the 12th of April, placed them on high ground, either for ending or prosecuting the war. It was fortunate for the Americans, that this success of the British was posterior to their loss in Virginia. It so elevated the spirits of Britain, and so depressed the hopes of France, that had it taken place prior to the surrender of lord Cornwallis, that event would have been less influential in disposing the nation to peace. As the catastrophe of York-Town closed the national war in North-America, so the defeat of de Grasse, in a great measure, put a period to hostilities in the West-Indies.

Other decisive events soon followed, which disposed another of the belligerent powers to a pacification. Gibraltar, though successively relieved, still continued to be besieged. The reduction of Minorca inspired the Spanish nation with fresh motives to perseverance. The duke de Crillon, who had been recently successful in the siege of Minorca, was appointed to conduct the siege of Gibraltar, and it was resolved to employ the whole strength of the Spanish monarchy in seconding his operations. No means were neglected, nor expense spared, that promised to forward the views of the besiegers. From the failure of all plans, hitherto adopted for effecting the reduction of Gibraltar, it was resolved to adopt new ones. Among the various projects for this purpose, one which had been formed by Chevalier D'Arcon, was deemed the most worthy of trial. This was to construct such floating batteries, as could neither be sunk nor fired. With this view their bottoms were made of the thickest timber, and their sides of wood and cork long soaked in water, with a large layer of wet sand between.

To prevent the effects of red hot balls, a number of pipes were contrived to carry water through every part of them, and pumps were provided to keep these constantly supplied with water. The people on board were to be sheltered from the fall of bombs by a cover of rope netting, which was made sloping, and overlaid with wet hides.

These floating batteries, ten in number, were made out of the hulls of large vessels, cut down for the purpose, and carried from 28 to 40 guns each, and were seconded by 80 large boats mounted with guns of heavy metal, and also by a multitude of frigates, ships of force, and some hundreds of small craft.

General Elliott, the intrepid defender of Gibraltar, was not ignorant that inventions of a petuliar kind were prepared against him, but knew nothing of their construction. He nevertheless provided for every circumstance of danger that could be foreseen or imagined. The 13th day of September was fixed upon by the besiegers for making a grand attack, when the new invented machines, with all the united powers of gunpowder and artillery in their highest state of improvement, were to be called into action. The combined fleets of France and Spain in the bay of Gibraltar amounted to 48 sail of the line. Their batteries were covered with 154 pieces of heavy brass cannon. The numbers employed by land and sea against the fortress were estimated at one hundred thousand men. With this force, and by the fire of 300 cannon, mortars, and howitzers, from the adjacent isthmus, it was intended to attack every part of the British works at one and the same instant. The surrounding hills were covered with people assembled to behold the spectacle. The cannonade and bombardment was tremendous. The showers of shot and shells from the land batteries, and the ships of the besiegers, and from the various works of the garrison, exhibited a most dreadful scene. Four hundred pieces of the heaviest artillery were playing at the same moment. The whole peninsula seemed to be overwhelmed in the torrents of fire, which were incessantly poured upon it. The Spanish floating batteries for some time answered the expectations of their framers. The heaviest shells often rebounded from their tops, while thirty-two pound shot made no visible impression upon their hulls. For some hours the attack and defence were so equally supported, as scarcely to admit any appearance of superiority on either side. The construction of

the battering ships was so well calculated for withstanding the combined force of fire and artillery, that they seemed for some time to bid defiance to the powers of the heaviest ordnance. In the afternoon the effects of hot shot became visible. At first there was only an appearance of smoke, but in the course of the night, after the fire of the garrison had continued about 15 hours, two of the floating batteries were in flames, and several more were visibly beginning to kindle. The endeavours of the besiegers were now exclusively directed to bring off the men from the burning vessels, but in this they were interrupted. Captain Curtis, who lay ready with 12 gun boats, advanced and fired upon them with such order and expedition, as to throw them into confusion before they had finished their business. They fled with their boats, and abandoned to their fate great numbers of their people. The opening of day-light disclosed a most dreadful spectacle. Many were seen in the midst of the flames crying out for help, while others were floating upon pieces of timber, exposed to equal danger from the opposite element. The generous humanity of the victors equalled their valour, and was the more honourable, as the exertions of it exposed them to no less danger than those of active hostility. In endeavouring to save the lives of his enemies, captain Curtis nearly lost his own. While for the most benevolent purpose he was along side the floating batteries, one of them blew up, and some heavy pieces of timber fell into his boat and pierced through its bottom. By similar perilous exertions, near 400 men were saved from inevitable destruction. The exercise of humanity to an enemy, under such circumstances of immediate action, and impending danger, conferred more true honour than could be acquired by the most splendid series of victories. It



in some degree obscured the impression made to the disadvantage of human nature, by the madness of mankind in destroying each other by wasteful wars. The floating batteries were all consumed. The violence of their explosion was such as to burst open doors and windows at a great distance. Soon after the destruction of the floating batteries, lord Howe, with 85 ships of the line, brought to the brave garrison an ample supply of every thing wanted, either for their support or their defence. This complete relief of Gibraltar, was the third decisive event in the course of a twelve-month, which favoured the reestablishment of a general peace.

The capture of the British army in Virginia—the defeat of count de Grasse, and the destruction of the Spanish floating batteries, inculcated on Great-Britain, France and Spain, the policy of sheathing the sword, and stopping the effusion of human blood. Each nation found, on a review of past events, that though their losses were great, their gains were little or nothing. By urging the American war, Great-Britain had increased her national debt one hundred millions of pounds sterling, and wasted the lives of at least 50,000 of her subjects. To add to her mortification she had brought all this on herself, by pursuing an object the attainment of which seemed to be daily less probable, and the benefits of which, even though it could have been attained, were very problematical. While Great-Britain, France and Spain were successively brought to think favourably of peace, the United States of America had the consolation of a public acknowledgment of their independence by a second power of Europe. This was effected in a great measure by the address of John Adams. On the capture of Henry

Laurens, he had been commissioned to be the minister plenipotentiary of congress, to the states general of the united provinces, and was also empowered to negotiate a loan of money among the Hollanders. <sup>January 1, 1781.</sup> Soon after his arrival he presented to their high mightinesses a memorial, in which he <sup>April 19.</sup> informed them that the United States of America, had thought fit to send him a commission with full power and instructions to confer with them concerning a treaty of amity and commerce, and that they had appointed him to be their minister plenipotentiary to reside near them. Similar information, was at the same time communicated to the stadtholder, the prince of Orange.

About a year after the presentation of this memorial, it was resolved "that the said Mr. Adams <sup>April 22, 1782.</sup> was agreeable to their high mightinesses, and that he should be acknowledged in the quality of minister plenipotentiary." Before this was obtained, much pains had been taken and much ingenuity had been exerted, to convince the rulers and people of the states general, that they had an interest in connecting themselves with the United States. These representations, together with some recent successes in their contests on the sea with Great-Britain, and their evident commercial interest, encouraged them to venture on being the second power of Europe, to acknowledge American independence.

Mr. Adams having gained this point, proceeded on the negotiation of a treaty of amity and commerce between the two countries. This was in a few <sup>Oct. 8.</sup> months concluded, to the reciprocal satisfaction of both parties. The same success which attended Mr. Adams in these negotiations, continued to follow him in obtaining a loan of money, which was a most seasonable supply to his almost exhausted country.

Mr. Jay had for nearly three years past exerted equal abilities, and equal industry with Mr. Adams, in endeavouring to negotiate a treaty between the United States and his most catholic majesty, but his exertions were not crowned with equal success.

To gain the friendship of the Spaniards, congress passed sundry resolutions, favouring the wishes of his most catholic majesty to reannex the two Floridas to his dominions. Mr. Jay was instructed to contend for the right of the United States to the free navigation of the river Mississippi, and if an express acknowledgment of it could not be obtained, he was restrained from acceding to any stipulation, by which it should be relinquished. But in February 1781, when lord Cornwallis was making rapid progress in overrunning the Southern states, and when the mutiny of the Pennsylvania line and other unfavourable circumstances depressed the spirits of the Americans, congress, on the recommendation of Virginia, directed him to recede from his instructions, so far as they insist on the free navigation of that part of the river Mississippi, which lies below the thirty-first degree of north latitude, and on a free port or ports below the same; provided such cession should be unalterably insisted on by Spain, and provided the free navigation of the said river above the said degree of north latitude should be acknowledged and guaranteed by his catholic majesty, in common with his own subjects.

Sept. 22, These propositions were made to the ministers  
of his most catholic majesty, but not accepted.

1781. Mr. Jay in his own name informed them, "That if the acceptance of this offer should, together with the proposed alliance, be postponed to a general peace, the United States would cease to consider themselves bound

by any propositions or offers he might then make in their behalf."

Spain having delayed to accept of these terms, which originated more in necessity than in policy, till the crisis of American independence was past, congress, apprehensive that their offered relinquishment of the free navigation of the Mississippi should at that late hour be accepted, instructed their minister "To forbear making any overtures to the court of Spain, or entering into any stipulations, in consequence of any which he had previously made." The ministers of his most catholic majesty, from indecision and tardiness of deliberation, let slip an opportunity of gaining a favourite point, which from the increasing numbers of the western settlements of the United States, seems to be removed at a daily encreasing distance. Humiliating offers, made and rejected in the hour of distress, will not readily be renewed in the day of prosperity.

Aug. 7,  
1782.

It was expected, not only by the sanguine Americans, but by many in England, that the capture of lord Cornwallis would instantly dispose the nation to peace; but whatever might have been the wish or the interest of the people, the American war was too much the favourite of ministry to be relinquished, without a struggle for its continuance.

Just after intelligence arrived of the capitulation of York-Town, the king of Great-Britain, in his speech to parliament declared "That he should not answer the trust committed to the sovereign of a free people, if he consented to sacrifice either his own desire of peace, or to their temporary ease and relief, those essential rights and permanent interests, upon the maintenance and preservation of which the future strength and security of the country must for ever depend." The determined language of this speech, point-

Nov. 27,  
1781.

ing to the continuance of the American war, was echoed back by a majority of both lords and commons.

Dec. 12. In a few days after, it was moved in the house of commons that a resolution should be adopted declaring it to be their opinion "That all farther attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force would be ineffectual, and injurious to the true interests of Great-Britain." Though the debate on this subject was continued till two o'clock in the morning, and though the opposition received additional strength, yet the question

Jan. 4, 1782. was not carried. The same ground of argument was soon gone over again, and the American war

underwent, for the fourth time since the beginning of the session, a full discussion; but no resolution disapproving its farther prosecution, could yet obtain the assent of a majority of the members. The advocates for peace

Feb. 22. becoming daily more numerous, it was moved by general Conway, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he will be pleased to give directions to his ministers not to pursue any longer the impracticable object of reducing his majesty's revolted colonies by force to their allegiance, by a war on the continent of America." This brought forth a repetition of the former arguments on the subject, and engaged the attention of the house till two o'clock in the morning.

On a division, the motion for the address was lost by a single vote. In the course of these debates, while the minority were gaining ground, the ministry were giving up one point after another. They at first consented that the war should not be carried on to the same extent as formerly—then that there should be no internal continental war—next that there should be no other war than what was necessary for the defence of the posts already in their possession—and last of all, none but against the French in America.

The ministry as well as the nation began to be sensible of the impolicy of continental operations, but hoped that they might gain their point by prosecuting hostilities at sea. Every opposition was therefore made by them against the total dereliction of a war, on the success of which they had so repeatedly pledged themselves, and on the continuance of which they held their places. General Conway, in five days after, brought forward another motion expressed in different words, but Feb. 27. of the same effect with that which had been lost by a single vote. This caused a long debate which lasted till two o'clock in the morning. It was then moved to adjourn the debate till the 13th of March. There appeared for the adjournment 215, and against it 234.

The original motion, and an address to the king formed upon the resolution, were then carried without a division, and the address was ordered to be presented by the whole house.

To this his majesty answered, "that in pursuance of their advice, he would take such measures as should appear to him most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great-Britain and the revolted colonies." The thanks of the house were voted for this answer. But the guarded language thereof, not inconsistent with farther hostilities against America, together with other suspicious circumstances, induced general Conway to move another resolution, expressed in the most decisive language. This was to the following effect: "That the house would consider as enemies to his majesty and the country, all those who should advise or by any means attempt the further prosecution of offensive war, on the continent of North-America, for the purpose of reducing the colonies to obedience by force." This motion, after a feeble opposition, was carried without a division, and

put a period to all that chicanery by which ministers meant to distinguish between a prosecution of offensive war in North-America, and a total dereliction of it. This resolution and the preceding address, to which it had reference, may be considered as the closing scene of the American war. As it was made a parliamentary war, by an address from parliament for its prosecution in February 1775, it now was no longer so, by an address from the most numerous house of the same parliament in 1782, for its discontinuance. A change of ministry was the consequence of this total change of that political system which, for seven years, had directed the affairs of Great-Britain. A new administration was formed under the auspices of the marquis of Rockingham, and

July 1. was composed of characters who opposed the American war. It has been said that the new minister stipulated with the court before he entered into office, that there should be peace with the Americans, and that the acknowledgment of their independence should not be a bar to the attainment of it. Soon after the marquis of Rockingham, on whom Great-Britain relied with a well placed confidence, for extrication from surrounding embarrassments, departed this life, and his much lamented death for some time obscured the agreeable prospects which had lately begun to dawn on the nation. On the decease of the noble marquis, earl Shelburne was appointed his successor. To remove constitutional impediments to negotiate with the late British colonies, an act of parliament was passed, granting to the crown powers for negotiating or concluding a general or particular peace or truce with the whole, or with any part of the colonies, and for setting aside all former laws, whose operations were in contravention of that purpose.

Sir Guy Carleton, who was lately appointed to the

command of the royal army in North-America, was instructed to use his endeavours for carrying into effect the wishes of Great-Britain, for an accommodation with the Americans. He therefore despatched a letter to general Washington, informing him of the late proceedings of parliament, and of the dispositions so favourable to America, which were prevalent in Great-Britain, and at the same time solicited a passport for his secretary, Mr. Morgan, to pay a visit to congress. His request was refused. The application for it, with its concomitant circumstances, were considered as introductory to a scheme for opening negotiations with congress or the states, without the concurrence of their allies. This caused no small alarm and gave rise to sundry resolutions, by which several states declared, that a proposition from the enemy to all or any of the United States for peace or truce, separate from their allies, was inadmissible. Congress not long after resolved, "that they would not enter into the discussion of any overtures for pacification, but in confidence and in concert with his most christian majesty, and as a proof of this, they recommended to the several states to pass laws, that no subject of his Britannic majesty coming directly or indirectly from any part of the British dominions, be admitted into any of the United States during the war." This decisive conduct extinguished all hopes that Great-Britain might have entertained, of making a separate peace with America. Two of the first sovereigns of Europe, the empress of Russia and emperor of Germany, were the mediators in accomplishing the great work of peace. Such was the state of the contending parties, that the intercession of powerful mediators was no longer necessary. The disposition of Great Britain, to recognize the independence of the United States, had removed the principal difficul-

May,  
1782.



ty, which had hitherto obstructed a general pacification. It would be curious to trace the successive steps by which the nation was brought to this measure, so irreconcilable to their former declarations. Various auxiliary causes might be called in to account for this great change of the public mind of Great-Britain, but the sum of the whole must be resolved into this simple proposition, "That it was unavoidable." A state of perpetual war was inconsistent with the interest of a commercial nation. Even the longer continuance of hostilities was forbidden by every principle of wise policy.

The avowed object of the alliance between France and America, and the steady adherence of both parties to enter into no negotiations without the concurrence of each other, reduced Great-Britain to the alternative of continuing a hopeless unproductive war, or of negotiating under the idea of recognizing American independence. This great change of the public mind in Great-Britain, favourable to American independence, took place between November 1781, and March 1782. In that interval Mr. Laurens was released from his confinement in the tower. Before and after his release, he had frequent opportunities of demonstrating to persons in power, that from his personal knowledge of the sentiments of congress, and of their instructions to their ministers, every hope of peace, without the acknowledgment of independence, was illusory. Seven years experience had proved to the nation that the conquest of the American states was impracticable; they now received equal conviction, that the recognition of their independence, was an indispensable preliminary to the termination of a war, from the continuance of which, neither profit nor honour was to be acquired. The pride of Great-Britain for a long time resisted, but that usurp-

ing passion was obliged to yield to the superior influence of interest. The feelings of the great body of the people were no longer to be controuled, by the honour of ministers, or romantic ideas of national dignity. At the close of the war, a revolution was effected in the sentiments of the inhabitants of Great-Britain, not less remarkable than what in the beginning of it, took place among the citizens of America.

Independence which was neither thought of nor wished for by the latter in the year 1774, and 1775, became in the year 1776 their favourite object. A recognition of this, which throughout the war, had been with few exceptions the object of abhorrence to the British nation, became in the year 1782, a popular measure in Great-Britain, as the means of putting an end to a ruinous war.

The commissioners for negotiating peace on the part of the United States, were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens. On the part of Great-Britain, Mr. Fitzherbert, and Mr. Oswald. Provisional articles of peace, between Great-Britain and the United States, were agreed upon by these gentlemen, which were to be inserted in a future <sup>Nov. 30, 1782.</sup> treaty of peace, to be finally concluded between the parties, when that between Great-Britain and France took place. By these the independence of the states was acknowledged in its fullest extent. Very ample boundaries were allowed them, which comprehended the fertile and extensive countries on both sides of the Ohio, and on the east side of the Mississippi, in which was the residence of upwards of twenty nations of Indians, and particularly of the five nations, who had long been the friends and allies of Great-Britain. An unlimited right of fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, and

on other places where both nations had heretofore been accustomed to fish, was likewise confirmed to the Americans. From the necessity of the case, the loyalists were sacrificed, nothing further than a simple recommendation for restitution being stipulated in their favour. Five days after these provisional articles were signed, the British parliament met. They underwent a severe parliamentary discussion. It was said by the opposition that independence being recognized, every thing ceded by Great-Britain required an equivalent; but that while they gave up the many posts they held in the United States, an immense extent of north and western territory, a participation in the fur trade, and in the fisheries, nothing was stipulated in return.

It must be acknowledged, that the ministers of congress procured for their countrymen better terms than they had reason to expect; but from a combination of circumstances, it was scarcely possible to end the war without similar concessions on the part of Great-Britain. By the alliance between France and America, there could be no peace without independence. That once granted, most of the other articles followed of course. It is true, the boundaries agreed upon were more extensive than the states, when colonies, had claimed; yet the surplus ceded could have been of little or no use to Great-Britain, and might if retained, have given an occasion to a future war.

The case of the loyalists was undoubtedly a hard one, but unavoidable, from the complex constitution of the United States. The American ministers engaged as far, as they were authorized, and congress did all that they constitutionally could; but this was no more than simply to recommend their case to the several states, for the purpose of making them restitution. To have

insisted on more, under such circumstances, would have been equivalent to saying that there should be no peace. It is true, much more was expected from the recommendations of congress, than resulted from them; but this was not the consequence of deception, but of misunderstanding the principles of the confederation. In conformity to the letter and spirit of the treaty, congress urged in strong terms the propriety of making restitution to the loyalists, but to procure it was beyond their power. In the animation produced by the war, when the Americans conceived their liberties to be in danger, and that their only safety consisted in obeying their federal head, they yielded a more unreserved obedience to the recommendations of congress, than is usually paid to the decrees of the most arbitrary sovereigns. But the case was widely different, when at the close of the war, a measure was recommended in direct opposition to their prejudices. It was the general opinion of the Americans, that the continuance of the war, and the asperity with which it had been carried on, was more owing to the machinations of their own countrymen, who had taken part with royal government, than to their British enemies. It is certain that the former had been most active in predatory excursions, and most forward in scenes of blood and murder. Their knowledge of the country enabled them to do mischief which would never have occurred to European soldiers. Many powerful passions of human nature operated against making restitution to men, who were thus considered as the authors of so great a share of the public distress. There were doubtless among the loyalists many worthy characters—friends to peace, and lovers of justice. To such, restitution was undoubtedly due, and to many such it was made; but it is one of the many calamities

incident to war, that the innocent, from the impossibility of discrimination, are often involved in the same distress with the guilty. The return of the loyalists to their former places of residence, was as much disrelished by the whig citizens of America, as the proposal for reimbursing their confiscated property. In sundry places committees were formed, which in an arbitrary manner opposed their peaceable residence. The sober and dispassionate citizens exerted themselves in checking these irregular measures; but such was the violence of party spirit, and so relaxed were the sinews of government, that in opposition to legal authority, and the private interference of the judicious and moderate, many indecent outrages were committed on the persons and property of the returning loyalists. Nor were these all the sufferings of those Americans who had attached themselves to the royal cause. Being compelled to depart their native country, many of them were obliged to take up their abodes in the inhospitable wilds of Nova Scotia, or on the barren shores of the Bahama islands. Parliamentary relief was extended to them, but this was obtained with difficulty, and distributed with a partial hand. Some who invented plausible tales of loyalty and distress, received much more than they ever possessed; but others, less artful, were not half reimbursed for their actual losses. The bulk of the sufferings, subsequent to the peace, among the Americans, fell to the share of the merchants, and others, who owed money in England. From the operations of the war, remittances were impossible. In the mean time payments were made in America by a depreciating paper, under the sanction of a law which made it a legal tender. The unhappy persons who in this manner suffered payment, could not apply it to the extinguishment of their

foreign debts. If they retained in their hands the paper which was paid them, it daily decreased in value: if they invested it in public securities, from the deficiency of funds, their situation was no better: if they purchased land, such was the superabundance of territory ceded by the peace, that it fell greatly in value. Under all these embarrassments, the American debtor was by treaty bound to make payments in specie of all his *bona fide* debts, due in Great-Britain. The British merchant was materially injured by being kept for many years out of his capital, and the American was often ruined by being ultimately held to pay in specie what he received in paper. Enough was suffered on both sides to make the inhabitants, as well in Great-Britain as in America, deprecate war as one of the greatest evils incident to humanity.

---

## APPENDIX,

### No. IV.

*The state of parties; the advantages and disadvantages of the Revolution; its influence on the minds and morals of the citizens.*

**P**REVIOUS to the American revolution, the inhabitants of the British colonies were universally loyal. That three millions of such subjects should break through all former attachments, and unanimously adopt new ones, could not be reasonably expected. The revolution had its enemies, as well as its friends, in every period of the war. Country religion, local policy, as

well as private views, operated in disposing the inhabitants to take different sides. The New-England provinces being mostly settled by one sort of people, were nearly of one sentiment. The influence of placemen in Boston, together with the connexions which they had formed by marriages, had attached sundry influential characters in that capital to the British interest, but these were but as the dust in the balance, when compared with the numerous independent whig yeomanry of the country. The same and other causes produced a large number in New-York, who were attached to royal government. That city had long been head quarters of the British army in America, and many intermarriages, and other connexions, had been made between British officers and some of their first families. The practice of entailing estates had prevailed in New-York to a much greater extent than in any of the other provinces. The governors thereof had long been in the habit of indulging their favourites with extravagant grants of land. This had introduced the distinction of landlord and tenant. There was therefore in New-York an aristocratic party, respectable for numbers, wealth and influence, which had much to fear from independence. The city was also divided into parties by the influence of two ancient and numerous families, the Livingstones and Delanceys. These having been long accustomed to oppose each other at elections, could rarely be brought to unite in any political measures. In this controversy, one almost universally took part with America, the other with Great-Britain.

The Irish in America, with a few exceptions, were attached to independence. They had fled from oppression in their native country, and could not brook the idea that it should follow them. Their national prepos-

sessions in favour of liberty, were strengthened by their religious opinions. They were presbyterians, and people of that denomination, for reasons hereafter to be explained, were mostly whigs. The Scotch, on the other hand, though they had formerly sacrificed much to liberty in their own country, were generally disposed to support the claims of Great-Britain. Their nation for some years past had experienced a large proportion of royal favour. A very absurd association was made by many, between the cause of John Wilkes and the cause of America. The former had rendered himself so universally odious to the Scotch, that many of them were prejudiced against a cause, which was so ridiculously, but generally associated, with that of a man who had grossly insulted their whole nation. The illiberal reflections cast by some Americans on the whole body of the Scotch, as favourers of arbitrary power, restrained high spirited individuals of that nation from joining a people who suspected their love of liberty. Such of them as adhered to the cause of independence, were steady in their attachment. The army and the congress ranked among their best officers, and most valuable members, some individuals of that nation.

Such of the Germans, in America, as possessed the means of information, were generally determined whigs, but many of them were too little informed, to be able to choose their side on proper ground. They, especially such of them as resided in the interior country, were, from their not understanding the English language, far behind most of the other inhabitants, in a knowledge of the merits of the dispute. Their disaffection was rather passive than active: a considerable part of it arose from principles of religion, for some of their sects deny the lawfulness of war. No people have prospered more in



America than the Germans. None have surpassed, and but few have equalled them, in industry and other republican virtues.

The great body of tories in the southern states, was among the settlers on their western frontier. Many of these were disorderly persons, who had fled from the old settlements, to avoid the restraints of civil government. Their numbers were increased by a set of men called regulators. The expense and difficulty of obtaining the decision of courts, against horse thieves and other criminals, had induced sundry persons, about the year 1770, to take the execution of the laws into their own hands, in some of the remote settlements, both of North and South-Carolina. In punishing crimes, forms as well as substance, must be regarded. From not attending to the former, some of these regulators, though perhaps aiming at nothing but what they thought right, committed many offences both against law and justice. By their violent proceedings, regular government was prostrated. This drew on them the vengeance of royal governors. The regulators having suffered from their hands, were slow to oppose an established government, whose power to punish they had recently experienced. Apprehending that the measures of congress were like their own regulating schemes, and fearing that they would terminate in the same disagreeable consequences, they and their adherents were generally opposed to the revolution.

Religion also divided the inhabitants of America. The presbyterians and independents, were almost universally attached to the measures of congress. Their religious societies are governed on the republican plan. From independence they had much to hope, but from Great-Britain, if finally successful, they had rea-

son to fear the establishment of a church hierarchy. Most of the episcopal ministers of the northern provinces, were pensioners on the bounty of the British government. The greatest part of their clergy, and many of their laity in these provinces, were therefore disposed to support a connexion with Great-Britain. The episcopal clergy in these southern provinces, being under no such bias, were often among the warmest whigs. Some of them foreseeing the downfall of religious establishments from the success of the Americans, were less active, but in general where their church was able to support itself, their clergy and laity, zealously espoused the cause of independence. Great pains were taken to persuade them, that those who had been called dissenters, were aiming to abolish the episcopal establishment, to make way for their own exaltation, but the good sense of the people, restrained them from giving any credit to the unfounded suggestion. Religious controversy was happily kept out of view: the well informed of all denominations were convinced, that the contest was for their civil rights, and therefore did not suffer any other considerations, to interfere or disturb their union.

The quakers, with a few exceptions, were averse to independence. In Pennsylvania they were numerous, and had power in their hands. Revolutions in government are rarely patronized by any body of men, who foresee that a diminution of their own importance, is likely to result from the change. Quakers from religious principles were averse to war, and therefore could not be friendly to a revolution, which could only be effected by the sword. Several individuals separated from them on account of their principles, and following the impulse of their inclinations, joined their countrymen in arms.

The services America received from two of their society, generals Greene and Mifflin, made some amends for the embarrassment, which the disaffection of the great body of their people occasioned to the exertions of the active friends of independence.

The age and temperament of individuals had often an influence in fixing their political character. Old men were seldom warm whigs. They could not relish the great changes which were daily taking place. Attached to ancient forms and habits, they could not readily accommodate themselves to new systems. Few of the very rich were active in forwarding the revolution. This was remarkably the case in the eastern and middle states; but the reverse took place in the southern extreme of the confederacy. There were in no part of America, more determined whigs than the opulent slaveholders in Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. The active and spirited part of the community, who felt themselves possessed of talents, that would raise them to eminence in a free government, longed for the establishment of independent constitutions: but those who were in possession or expectation of royal favour, or of promotion from Great-Britain, wished that the connexion between the parent state and the colonies, might be preserved. The young, the ardent, the ambitious and the enterprising were mostly whigs, but the phlegmatic, the timid, the interested and those who wanted decision were, in general, favourers of Great-Britain, or at least only the lukewarm, inactive friends of independence. The whigs received a great reinforcement from the operation of continental money. In the years 1775, 1776, and in the first months of 1777, while the bills of congress were in good credit, the effects of them were the same, as if a foreign power had made the United States a present of twenty millions of silver dol-

lars. The circulation of so large a sum of money, and the employment given to great numbers in providing for the American army, increased the numbers and invigorated the zeal of the friends of the revolution: on the same principles, the American war was patronized in England, by the many contractors and agents for transporting and supplying the British army. In both cases the inconveniences of interrupted commerce were lessened by the employment which war and a domestic circulation of money substituted in its room. The convulsions of war afforded excellent shelter for desperate debtors. The spirit of the times revolted against dragging to jails for debt; men who were active and zealous in defending their country, and on the other hand, those who owed more than they were worth, by going within the British lines, and giving themselves the merit of suffering on the score of loyalty, not only put their creditors to defiance, but sometimes obtained promotion or other special marks of royal favour.

The American revolution, on the one hand, brought forth great vices: but on the other hand, it called forth many virtues, and gave occasion for the display of abilities, which, but for that event, would have been lost to the world. When the war began, the Americans were a mass of husbandmen, merchants, mechanics, and fishermen; but the necessities of the country gave a spring to the active powers of the inhabitants, and set them on thinking, speaking and acting, in a line far beyond that to which they had been accustomed. The difference between nations is not so much owing to nature, as to education and circumstances. While the Americans were guided by the leading strings of the mother country, they had no scope nor encouragement for exertion. All the departments of government were established and execut-

ed for them, but not by them. In the years 1775 and 1776, the country being suddenly thrown into a situation that needed the abilities of all its sons, these generally took their places, each according to the bent of his inclination. As they severally pursued their objects with ardour, a vast expansion of the human mind speedily followed. This displayed itself in a variety of ways. It was found that the talents for great stations did not differ in kind, but only in degree, from those which were necessary for the proper discharge of the ordinary business of civil society. In the bustle that was occasioned by the war, few instances could be produced of any persons who made a figure, or who rendered essential services, but from among those who had given specimens of similar talents in their respective professions. Those who from indolence or dissipation, had been of little service to the community in time of peace, were found equally unserviceable in war. A few young men were exceptions to this general rule. Some of these, who had indulged in youthful follies, broke off from their vicious courses, and on the pressing call of their country became useful servants of the public; but the great bulk of those who were the active instruments of carrying on the revolution, were self-made, industrious men. These, who by their own exertions had established or laid a foundation for establishing personal independence, were most generally trusted, and most successfully employed in establishing that of their country. In these times of action, classical education was found of less service, than good natural parts, guided by common sense and sound judgment.

Several names could be mentioned, of individuals who without the knowledge of any other language than their mother tongue, wrote, not only accurately, but elegantly, on public business. It seemed as if the war not only re-

quired, but created talents. Men whose minds were warmed with the love of liberty, and whose abilities were improved by daily exercise, and sharpened with a laudable ambition to serve their distressed country, spoke, wrote, and acted, with an energy far surpassing all expectations which could be reasonably founded on their previous acquirements.

The Americans knew but little of one another, previous to the revolution. Trade and business had brought the inhabitants of their seaports acquainted with each other, but the bulk of the people in the interior country were unacquainted with their fellow citizens. A continental army, and congress, composed of men from all the states, by freely mixing together, were assimilated into one mass. Individuals of both, mingling with the citizens, disseminated principles of union among them. Local prejudices abated. By frequent collision asperities were worn off, and a foundation was laid for the establishment of a nation, out of discordant materials. Inter-marriages between men and women of different states were much more common than before the war, and became an additional cement to the union. Unreasonable jealousies had existed between the inhabitants of the eastern and of the southern states; but on becoming better acquainted with each other, these in a great measure subsided. A wiser policy prevailed. Men of liberal minds led the way in discouraging local distinctions, and the great body of the people, as soon as reason got the better of prejudice, found that their best interests would be most effectually promoted by such practices and sentiments as were favourable to union. Religious bigotry had broken in upon the peace of various sects, before the American war. This was kept up by partial establishments, and by a dread that the church of England,

through the power of the mother country, would be made to triumph over all other denominations. These apprehensions were done away by the revolution. The different sects, having nothing to fear from each other, dismissed all religious controversy. A proposal for introducing bishops into America before the war, had kindled a flame among the dissenters; but the revolution was no sooner accomplished, than a scheme for that purpose was perfected, with the consent and approbation of all those sects who had previously opposed it. Pulpits which had formerly been shut to worthy men, because their heads had not been consecrated by the imposition of the hands of a bishop, or of a presbytery, have since the establishment of independence, been reciprocally opened to each other, whensoever the public convenience required it. The world will soon see the result of an experiment in politics, and be able to determine whether the happiness of society is increased by religious establishments, or diminished by the want of them.

Though schools and colleges were generally shut up during the war, yet many of the arts and sciences were promoted by it. The geography of the United States before the revolution was but little known; but the marches of armies, and the operations of war, gave birth to many geographical enquiries and discoveries, which otherwise would not have been made. A passionate fondness for studies of this kind, and the growing importance of the country, excited one of its sons, the Rev. Mr. Morse, to travel through every state of the union, and amass a fund of topographical knowledge, far exceeding any thing heretofore communicated to the public. The necessities of the states led to the study of tactics, fortification, gunnery, and a variety of other arts connected with war, and diffused a knowledge of

them among a peaceable people, who would otherwise have had no inducement to study them.

The abilities of ingenious men were directed to make farther improvements in the art of destroying an enemy. Among these, David Bushnell of Connecticut, invented a machine for submarine navigation, which was found to answer the purpose of rowing horizontally at any given depth under water, and of rising or sinking at pleasure. To this was attached a magazine of powder, and the whole was contrived in such a manner, as to make it practicable to blow up vessels by machinery under them. Mr. Bushnell also contrived sundry other curious machines for the annoyance of British shipping; but from accident they only succeeded in part. He destroyed one vessel in charge of commodore Symonds, and a second one near the shore of Long-Island.

Surgery was one of the arts which was promoted by the war. From the want of hospitals and other aids, the medical men of America, had few opportunities of perfecting themselves in this art, the thorough knowledge of which can only be acquired by practice and observation. The melancholy events of battles, gave the American students an opportunity of seeing, and learning more in one day, than they could have acquired in years of peace. It was in the hospitals of the United States, that Dr. Rush first discovered the method of curing the lock-jaw by bark and wine, added to other invigorating remedies, which has since been adopted with success in Europe, as well as in the United States.

The science of government, has been more generally diffused among the Americans by means of the revolution. The policy of Great-Britain, in throwing them



out of her protection, induced a necessity of establishing independent constitutions. This led to reading and reasoning on the subject. The many errors that were at first committed by unexperienced statesmen, have been a practical comment on the folly of unbalanced constitutions, and injudicious laws. The discussions concerning the new constitution, gave birth to much reasoning on the subject of government, and particularly to a series of letters signed Publius, but really the work of Alexander Hamilton, in which much political knowledge and wisdom were displayed, and which will long remain a monument of the strength and acuteness of the human understanding in investigating truth.

When Great-Britain first began her encroachments on the colonies, there were few natives of America who had distinguished themselves as speakers or writers, but the controversy between the two countries multiplied their number.

The stamp act, which was to have taken place in 1765, employed the pens and tongues of many of the colonists, and by repeated exercise improved their ability to serve their country. The duties imposed in 1767, called forth the pen of John Dickinson, who in a series of letters signed a Pennsylvania Farmer, may be said to have sown the seeds of the revolution. For being universally read by the colonists, they universally enlightened them on the dangerous consequences likely to result from their being taxed by the parliament of Great-Britain.

In establishing American independence, the pen and the press had merit equal to that of the sword. As the war was the people's war, and was carried on without funds, the exertions of the army would have been in-

sufficient to effect the revolution, unless the great body of the people had been prepared for it, and also kept in a constant disposition to oppose Great-Britain. To rouse and unite the inhabitants, and to persuade them to patience for several years, under present sufferings, with the hope of obtaining remote advantages for their posterity, was a work of difficulty: this was effected in a great measure by the tongues and pens of the well informed citizens, and on it depended the success of military operations.

To enumerate the names of all those who were successful labourers in this arduous business, is impossible. The following list contains, in nearly alphabetical order, the names of the most distinguished writers in favour of the rights of America.

John Adams, and Samuel Adams, of Boston; Bland, of Virginia; John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania; Daniel Dulany, of Annapolis; William Henry Drayton, of South-Carolina; Dr. Franklin, of Philadelphia; John Jay, and Alexander Hamilton, of New-York; Thomas Jefferson, and Arthur Lee, of Virginia; Jonathan Hyman, of Connecticut; Governor Livingston, of New-Jersey; Dr. Mayhew, and James Otis, of Boston; Thomas Paine, Dr. Rush, Charles Thompson, and James Wilson, of Philadelphia; William Tennant, of South-Carolina; Josiah Quincy, and Dr. Warren, of Boston. These and many others laboured in enlightening their countrymen, on the subject of their political interests, and in animating them to a proper line of conduct, in defence of their liberties. To these individuals may be added, the great body of the clergy, especially in New-England. The printers of newspapers, had also much merit in the same way. Particularly Edes and Gill, of Boston; Holt, of New-York; Bradford, of Philadelphia; and Timothy, of South-Carolina.

The early attention which had been paid to literature in New-England, was also eminently conducive to the success of the Americans in resisting Great-Britain. The university of Cambridge was founded as early as 1636, and Yale college in 1700. It has been computed, that in the year the Boston port act was passed, there were in the four eastern colonies, upwards of two thousand graduates of their colleges dispersed through their several towns, who by their knowledge and abilities, were able to influence and direct the great body of the people to a proper line of conduct, for opposing the encroachments of Great-Britain on their liberties. The colleges to the southward of New-England, except that of William and Mary, in Virginia, were but of modern date; but they had been of a standing sufficiently long to have trained for public service a considerable number of the youth of the country. The college of New-Jersey, which was incorporated about 28 years before the revolution, had in that time educated upwards of 300 persons, who, with a few exceptions, were active and useful friends of independence. From the influence which knowledge had in securing and preserving the liberties of America, the present generation may trace the wise policy of their fathers, in erecting schools and colleges. They may also learn that it is their duty to found more, and support all such institutions. Without the advantages derived from these lights of this new world, the United States would probably have fallen in their unequal contest with Great-Britain. Union, which was essential to the success of their resistance, could scarcely have taken place, in the measures adopted by an ignorant multitude. Much less could wisdom in council, unity in system, or perseverance in the prosecution of a long and self-denying war, be expected

from an uninformed people. It is a well known fact, that persons unfriendly to the revolution, were always most numerous in those parts of the United States, which had either never been illuminated, or but faintly warmed by the rays of science. The uninformed and the misinformed, constituted a great proportion of those Americans, who preferred the leading strings of the parent state, though encroaching on their liberties, to a government of their own countrymen and fellow citizens.

As literature had in the first instance favoured the revolution, so in its turn, the revolution promoted literature. The study of eloquence and of the belles lettres, was more successfully prosecuted in America, after the disputes between Great-Britain and her colonies began to be serious, than it ever had been before. The various orations, addresses, letters, dissertations and other literary performances which the war made necessary, called forth abilities where they were, and excited the rising generation to study arts, which brought with them their own reward. Many incidents afforded materials for the favourites of the muses, to display their talents. Even burlesquing royal proclamations, by parodies and doggerel poetry, had great effects on the minds of the people. A celebrated historian has remarked, that the song of Lillibullero forwarded the revolution of 1688 in England. It may be truly affirmed, that similar productions produced similar effects in America. Francis Hopkinson rendered essential service to his country, by turning the artillery of wit and ridicule on the enemy. Philip Freneau laboured successfully in the same way. Royal proclamations and other productions which issued from royal printing presses, were, by the help of a warm imagination, arrayed in such dresses as rendered

them truly ridiculous. Trumbull, with a vein of original hudibrastic humour, diverted his countrymen so much with the follies of their enemies, that for a time they forgot the calamities of war. Humphries twined the literary with the military laurel, by superadding the fame of an elegant poet, to that of an accomplished officer. Barlow increased the fame of his country and of the distinguished actors in the revolution, by the bold design of an epic poem ably executed, on the idea that Columbus foresaw in vision, the great scenes that were to be transacted on the theatre of that new world which he had discovered. Dwight struck out, in the same line, and at an early period of life finished an elegant work, entitled the Conquest of Canaan, on a plan which has rarely been attempted. The principles of their mother tongue, were first unfolded to the Americans since the revolution, by their countryman Webster. Pursuing an unbeaten track, he has made discoveries in the genius and construction of the English language, which had escaped the researches of preceding philologists. These, and a group of other literary characters, have been brought into view by the revolution. It is remarkable, that of these, Connecticut has produced an unusual proportion. In that truly republican state, every thing conspires to adorn human nature with its highest honours.

From the latter periods of the revolution till the present time, schools, colleges, societies and institutions for promoting literature, arts, manufactures, agriculture, and for extending human happiness, have been increased far beyond any thing that ever took place before the declaration of independence. Every state in the union, has done more or less in this way, but Pennsylvania has done the most. The following institutions have been

very lately founded in that state, and most of them in the time of the war or since the peace. An university in the city of Philadelphia; a college of physicians in the same place; Dickinson college at Carlisle; Franklin college at Lancaster; the protestant episcopal academy in Philadelphia; academies at York-Town, at Germantown, at Pittsburgh and Washington; and an academy in Philadelphia for young ladies; societies for promoting political enquiries; for the medical relief of the poor, under the title of the Philadelphia dispensary; for promoting the abolition of slavery, and the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage; for propogating the gospel among the Indians, under the direction of the united brethren; for the encouragement of manufactures and the useful arts; for alleviating the miseries of prisons. Such have been some of the beneficial effects, which have resulted from that expansion of the human mind, which has been produced by the revolution, but these have not been without alloy.

To overset an established government unhinges many of those principles which bind individuals to each other. A long time, and much prudence, will be necessary to reproduce a spirit of union and that reverence for government, without which society is a rope of sand. The right of the people to resist their rulers, when invading their liberties, forms the corner stone of the American republic. This principle, though just in itself, is not favourable to the tranquillity of present establishments. The maxims and measures, which in the years 1774 and 1775, were successfully inculcated and adopted by American patriots, for oversetting the established government, will answer a similar purpose when recurrence is had to them by factious demagogues for disturbing the freest governments that were ever devised.

War never fails to injure the morals of the people engaged in it. The American war, in particular, had an unhappy influence of this kind. Being begun without funds or regular establishments, it could not be carried on without violating private rights; and in its progress, it involved a necessity for breaking solemn promises, and plighted public faith. The failure of national justice, which was in some degree unavoidable, increased the difficulties of performing private engagements, and weakened that sensibility to the obligations of public and private honour, which is a security for the punctual performance of contracts.

In consequence of the war, the institutions of religion have been deranged, the public worship of the deity suspended, and a great number of the inhabitants deprived of the ordinary means of obtaining that religious knowledge, which tames the fierceness, and softens the rudeness of human passions and manners. Many of the temples dedicated to the service of the most high, were destroyed, and these, from a deficiency of ability and inclination, are not yet rebuilt. The clergy were left to suffer, without proper support. The depreciation of the paper currency was particularly injurious to them: It reduced their salaries to a pittance, so insufficient for their maintenance, that several of them were obliged to lay down their profession, and engage in other pursuits. Public preaching, of which many of the inhabitants were thus deprived, seldom fails of rendering essential service to society, by civilizing the multitude and forming them to union. No class of citizens have contributed more to the revolution than the clergy, and none have hitherto suffered more in consequence of it. From the diminution of their number, and the penury to which they have been subjected, civil govern-

ment has lost many of the advantages it formerly derived from the public instructions of that useful order of men.

On the whole, the literary, political, and military talents of the citizens of the United States have been improved by the revolution, but their moral character is inferior to what it formerly was. So great is the change for the worse, that the friends of public order are loudly called upon to exert their utmost abilities, in extirpating the vicious principles and habits, which have taken deep root during the late convulsions.

---

## CHAPTER XXVII.

*The discharge of the American army: The evacuation of New-York: The resignation of General Washington: Arrangements of Congress for disposing of their western territory, and paying their debts: The distresses of the States after the peace: The inefficacy of the articles of the confederation: A grand convention for amending the government: The new constitution: General Washington appointed President: An address to the people of the United States.* 1783.

WHILE the citizens of the United States were anticipating the blessings of peace, their army, which had successfully stemmed the tide of British victories, was unrewarded for its services. The states which had been rescued by their exertions from slavery, were in no condition to pay them their stipulated due. To dismiss of-



ficers and soldiers, who had spent the prime of their days in serving their country, without an equivalent for their labours, or even a sufficiency to enable them to gain a decent living, was a hard but unavoidable case.

Mar. 10, 1783. An attempt was made by anonymous and seditious publications to inflame the minds of the of-

ficers and soldiers, and induce them to unite in redressing their own grievances, while they had arms in their hands. As soon as general Washington was informed of the nature of these papers, he requested the general and field officers, with one officer from each company, and a proper representation from the staff of the army,

to assemble on an early day. He rightly judged  
Mar. 15. that it would be much easier to divert from a

wrong to a right path, than to recal fatal and hasty steps, after they had once been taken. The period, previously to the meeting of the officers, was improved in preparing them for the adoption of moderate measures. General Washington sent for one officer after another, and enlarged in private, on the fatal consequences, and particularly on the loss of character to the whole army, which would result from intemperate resolutions.

Mar. 15. When the officers were convened, the commander in chief addressed them in a speech well calculated to calm their minds. He also pledged himself to exert all his abilities and influence in their favour, and requested them to rely on the faith of their country, and conjured them, "as they valued their honour, as they respected the rights of humanity, and as they regarded the military and national character of America, to express their utmost detestation of the man, who was attempting to open the flood gates of civil discord, and deluge their rising empire with blood." General Washington then retired. The minds of those who had heard

him were in such an irritable state, that nothing but their most ardent patriotism and his unbounded influence, prevented the proposal of rash resolutions, which, if adopted, would have sullied the glory of seven years service. No reply whatever was made to the general's speech. The happy moment was seized, while the minds of the officers, softened by the eloquence of their beloved commander, were in a yielding state, and a resolution was unanimously adopted, by which they declared, "that no circumstances of distress or danger should induce a conduct that might tend to sully the reputation and glory they had acquired; that the army continued to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of congress and their country; that they viewed with abhorrence and rejected with disdain, the infamous propositions in the late anonymous address to the officers of the army." Too much praise cannot be given to general Washington, for the patriotism and decision which marked his conduct in the whole of this serious transaction. Perhaps in no instance did the United States receive from Heaven a more signal deliverance, through the hands of the commander in chief.

Soon after these events, congress completed a resolution which had been for some time pending, Mar. 22. that the officers of their army, who preferred a sum in gross to an annuity, should be entitled to receive to the amount of five years full pay, in money, or securities at six per cent. per annum, instead of their half pay for life, which had been previously promised to them.

To avoid the inconveniences of dismissing a great number of soldiers in a body, furloughs May 26. were freely granted to individuals, and after their dispersion they were not enjoined to return. By this arrangement a critical moment was got over. A great part of an un-

paid army, was disbanded and dispersed over the states, without tumult or disorder. The privates generally betook themselves to labour, and crowned the merit of being good soldiers, by becoming good citizens. Several of the American officers, who had been bred mechanics, resumed their trades. In old countries the disbanding a single regiment, even though fully paid, has often produced serious consequences; but in America, where arms had been taken up for self defence, they were peaceably laid down as soon as they became unnecessary. As soldiers had been easily and speedily formed in 1775, out of farmers, planters, and mechanics, with equal ease and expedition in the year 1783, they dropped their adventitious character, and resumed their former occupations. About 80 of the Pennsylvania levies formed an exception to the prevailing peaceable disposition of the army. These, in defiance of their officers, set out from Lancaster, and marched to Philadelphia to seek a redress of their grievances, from the executive council of the state. The mutineers, in opposition to advice and entreaties, persisted in their march, till they arrived at Philadelphia. They were there joined by some other troops, who were quartered in the barracks. The whole, amounting to upwards of 300 men, marched with fixed bayonets and drums, to the statehouse, in which congress and the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania held their sessions. They placed guards at every door, and sent in a written message to the president and council of the state, and threatened to let loose an enraged soldiery upon them, if they were not gratified as to their demand within 20 minutes. The situation of congress, though they were not the particular object of the soldiers' resentment, was far from being agreeable. After being about three hours under duress they retired,

but previously resolved that the authority of the United States had been grossly insulted. Soon after they left Philadelphia, and fixed on Princeton as the place of their next meeting. General Washington immediately ordered a large detachment of his army, to march for Philadelphia. Previously to their arrival, the disturbances were quieted without bloodshed. Several of the mutineers were tried and condemned, two to suffer death, and four to receive corporal punishment, but they were all afterwards pardoned.

Towards the close of the year, congress issued a proclamation, in which the armies of the United States were applauded, "for having displayed in the progress of an arduous and difficult war, every military and patriotic virtue, and in which the thanks of their country were given them, for their long, eminent and faithful services." Congress then declared it to be their pleasure, "that such part of their federal armies, as stood engaged to serve during the war, should from and after the third day of November next, be absolutely discharged from the said service." On the day preceding their dismissal, general Washington issued his farewell orders, in the most endearing language. After giving them his advice respecting their future conduct, and bidding them an affectionate farewell, he concluded with these words: "May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend those, who under the divine auspices have secured innumerable blessings for others. With these wishes, and this benediction, the commander in chief is about to retire from service; the curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene, to him, will be closed for ever."

With great exertions of the superintendant of finance

four months pay, in part of several years arrearages, were given to the army. This sum, though trifling, was all the immediate recompense the states were able to make to those brave men, who had conducted their country through an eight years war, to peace and independence.

Nov. 25. The evacuation of New-York, took place in about three weeks after the American army was discharged. For a twelvemonth preceding, there had been an unrestrained communication between that city, though a British garrison, and the adjacent country. The bitterness of war passed away, and civilities were freely interchanged between those, who had lately sought for opportunities to destroy each other. General Washington and governor Clinton, with their suits, made a public entry into the city of New-York, as soon as the royal army was withdrawn. The lieutenant governor, and members of the council, the officers of the American army, and the citizens, followed in an elegant procession. It was remarked that an unusual proportion of those who in 1776, had fled from New-York, were by death cut off from partaking in the general joy, which flowed in upon their fellow citizens, on returning to their ancient habitations. The ease and affluence which they enjoyed in the days of their prosperity; made the severities of exile inconvenient to all, and fatal to many, particularly to such as were advanced in life. Those who survived, both felt and expressed the overflowings of joy, on finding their sufferings and services rewarded with the recovery of their country, the expulsion of their enemies, and the establishment of their independence. In the evening there was a display of fireworks, which exceeded every thing of the kind before seen in the United States. They commenced by a dove's decending with an olive branch, and setting fire to a maron battery.

The hour now approached in which it became necessary for general Washington to take leave of his officers, who had been endeared to him by a long series of common sufferings and dangers. This was done in a solemn manner. The officers having previously assembled for the purpose, general Washington joined them, and calling for a glass of wine, thus addressed them: "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take my leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honourable." The officers came up successively, and he took an affectionate leave of each of them. When this affecting scene was over, Washington left the room, and passed through the corps of light infantry, to the place of embarkation. The officers followed in a solemn mute procession, with dejected countenances. On his entering the barge to cross the North-River, he turned towards the companions of his glory, and by waving his hat, bid them a silent adieu. Some of them answered this last signal of respect and affection with tears, and all of them hung upon the barge which conveyed him from their sight, till they could no longer distinguish in it the person of their beloved commander in chief.

A proposal was made to perpetuate the friendship of the officers, by forming themselves into a society, to be named after the famous Roman patriot, Cincinnatus. The extreme jealousy of the new republics suspected danger to their liberties, from the union of the leaders of their late army, and especially from a part of their institution, which held out to their posterity, the honour of being admitted members of the same society. To obviate all grounds of fear, the general meeting of the society, recommended an alteration of their institution, which has been adopted by eight of the state societies.

By this recommendation it was proposed to expunge every thing that was hereditary, and to retain little else than their original name, and a social, charitable institution for perpetuating their personal friendships, and relieving the wants of their indigent brethren. General Washington, on the approaching dissolution of the American army, by a circular letter to the governors or presidents of the individual states, gave his parting advice to his countrymen; and, with all the charms of eloquence, inculcated the necessity of union, justice, subordination, and of such principles and practices, as their new situation required.

The army being disbanded, the commander in chief proceeded to Annapolis, then the seat of congress, to resign his commission. On his way thither, he delivered to the comptroller in Philadelphia an account of the expenditure of all the public money he had ever received. This was in his own hand writing, and every entry was made in a very particular manner. The whole sum, which, in the course of the war had passed through his hands, amounted only to 14,479*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* sterling. Nothing was charged or retained as a reward for personal services, and actual disbursements had been managed with such economy and fidelity, that they were all covered by the above moderate sum.

In every town and village, through which the general passed, he was met by public and private demonstrations of gratitude and joy. When he arrived at

Dec. 19. Annapolis, he informed congress of his intention to ask leave to resign the commission he had the honour to hold in their service, and desired to know their pleasure in what manner it would be most proper to be done. They resolved that it should be in a public audience. When the day fixed for that purpose ar-

Dec. 23. rived, a great number of distinguished person-

ages attended the interesting scene. At a proper moment, general Washington addressed Thomas Mifflin, the president, in the following words :

“Mr. President,

“The great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I now have the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

“Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence ; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superceded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of Heaven.

“The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations, and my gratitude for the interposition of providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

“While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services, and distinguished merits of the persons who have been attached to my person during the war : it was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate ; permit me, sir, to recommend in particular those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of congress.



"I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them, to His holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

To this the president returned the following answer:

"The United States, in congress assembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success, through a perilous and doubtful war.

"Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without friends or a government to support you.

"You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes: you have, by the love and confidence of your fellow citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity; you have persevered till these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled, under a just providence, to close the war in freedom, safety and independence; on which happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations.

"Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world—having taught a lesson useful to those who

inflict, and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action, with the blessing of your fellow citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command; it will continue to animate remotest ages. We feel, with you, our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interest of those confidential officers, who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

“We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching Him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens, to improve the opportunity afforded them, of becoming a happy and respectable nation; and for you, we address to Him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all His care: that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious, and that He will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give.”

The great scenes that crowded in upon the imagination of the general, and of the president, so affected them both, that they almost lost the power of utterance. The mingled emotions that agitated the minds of the spectators, on seeing the commander in chief of their armies, resigning all public employments, and his country acknowledging his services, and loading him with their blessings, were beyond description. Immediately on resigning his commission, Mr. Washington “hastened with ineffable delights,” (to use his own words) to his seat at Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Potomac in Virginia. Here the historian would wish to make a pause, while he described the simple and heart felt joy of neighbours and domestics, who welcomed him to his home. Let it not be deemed foreign to his present sub-

ject, to do homage to the feelings and character of the amiable partner of his conjugal happiness, upon this occasion. She deserved this tide of unparalled female honour and felicity, for she loved her country, and bore with more than Roman—with christian patience and fortitude, the pains to which his long absence, and the perils of his health and life had exposed her. Fain would the historian pursue the illustrious hero of the revolution, a little further, and attempt to describe his feelings upon his first review of the events of the war, from the quiet station which he now occupied. But this digression would lead him far from the objects of his history.

To pass suddenly from the toils of the first public commission in the United States, to the care of a farm; to exchange the instruments of war for the implements of husbandry, and to become at once, the patron and example of ingenious and profitable agriculture, would to most men have been a difficult task. But to the elevated mind of the late commander in chief of the armies of the United States, it was natural and delightful; and should these pages descend to posterity, and war continue ages hence to be the means of establishing national justice, let the commanders of armies learn from the example of general Washington, that the fame which is acquired by the sword, without guilt or ambition, may be preserved without power or splendour, in private life.

Though the war was over, much remained for congress to do. The proper disposition of their unsettled western and northern frontier, became an object of serious attention. The eastern states had been settled uniformly in townships, but the middle and southern states by indiscriminate location. On a comparison of the

merits of these different methods of settling a new country, congress gave a decided preference to the former. Conformably to these principles, an ordinance was passed on the 20th of May 1785, for disposing of that part of the western territory which bounds on Pennsylvania. Many settlers soon migrated to this country. Civil government was established among them. A governor and judges were appointed and paid by congress. They fixed their capital, to which they gave the name of Marietta, at the conflux of the Muskingum and Ohio. In the first years of their settlement, congress ordained that they should be governed as a colony of the United States, but engaged, that as soon as they had attained a population equal to that of the smallest of the old states, they should be received into the union on equal terms. By this liberal policy, the blessings of a free government may be gradually extended to the remotest bounds of the United States.

These arrangements for promoting domestic tranquillity, were accompanied by others for forming commercial connexions with the sovereigns of Europe. Towards the close of the war, Dr. Franklin had concluded a treaty between the United States and the king of Sweden. He, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Jefferson, were appointed joint commissioners for forming commercial treaties with foreign powers. They succeeded in their negotiation with the king of Prussia, and the emperor of Morocco. Mr. Adams was also appointed minister plenipotentiary from the United States to the court of Great-Britain; and was instructed to solicit a treaty between these two powers, but the ministers of his Britannic majesty declined entering into any treaty with him. They assigned the inability of congress to compel the different states to observe general commercial regulations, as

a reason for declining the proposed connexion. From mismanagement, the United States with respect to trade were in fact nearly as dependent on Great-Britain, after the peace, as before the war. They had lost the privileges of British subjects with regard to some branches of commerce; but suffered most of the inconveniences of that political condition, in consequence of their inability to regulate their commerce by one will. In this deranged state of public affairs, Great-Britain could expect little more from a treaty with the United States, than what her merchants already possessed. She continued to reap the benefits of an extensive trade with America, without a reciprocity of advantages. Mr. Adams, finding his labours ineffectual, desired leave to return to America, which was granted.

To provide funds for paying their continental debt, engaged the attention of congress, for some time before and after the peace. The amount of this at the close of the war as nearly as could be calculated, was about forty millions of dollars. In prosecuting the necessary means for discharging it, the inefficacy of the articles of confederation soon became apparent. By these, congress, though bound to pay, possessed no power of raising a revenue. Its constitutional authority extended no farther, than to make requisitions on the several states for their quotas, to be ascertained in a relative proportion to the value of their lands. A proposition was made to the several states near to the close of the war, to invest congress with a power to levy an impost of five per cent. at the time and place of importation, on the value of all goods imported from foreign countries, till the whole of their public debt should be extinguished. Danger being now nearly over, selfish passions began to operate. Objections were made to trusting the purse and the sword in the

hands of the same body of men, and that too for an indefinite period of time. To obviate these scruples, congress, on a reconsideration, proposed to limit the grant of a continental impost to 25 years, and to confine the application of its nett proceeds exclusively to the discharge of existing debts. On these principles, a system of revenue for funding and ultimately paying the whole public debt was completed, and offered to <sup>Apr. 18,</sup> 1783. the states for their ratification. By this, it was proposed to raise two millions and a half of dollars annually, to defray the interest of the continental debt. It was expected that the impost would bring in the first year one million of dollars, and increase every year afterwards. The states were respectively called upon to raise the balance, according to proportions assigned them, from some permanent established fund, subject to the disposal of congress. A proposition was also made, to change the federal rule of apportioning the public debt, from the value of land, to the more practicable one of numbers of inhabitants in the different states. The whole system was transmitted to the state legislatures, and accompanied by an animated address, enforcing the propriety of its immediate adoption. <sup>Apr. 18.</sup> Some of the states adopted it in the whole, others only in part, and some not at all. The states whose population was great, and whose lands were of an inferior quality, objected to changing the federal rule of apportionment from the value of lands to numbers. Some of the states which, from their having convenient ports, were called importing states, found it to be more for their immediate advantage, to raise money by impost for their separate use, than for the benefit of the union. They who received foreign goods through neighbouring states, and which were called consuming states, complained that by the revolution they

had only changed masters, for that instead of being taxed by Great-Britain without their consent, they were virtually taxed in like manner by their sister states who happened to be more favourably situated for importing foreign goods. From these jarring interests, and from the want of a disposition to support a supreme head, and to give up local advantages for the general benefit, the revenue system of congress was never put in operation. Its failure was the source of many evils. No efficient funds being provided to pay the interest of the national debt, the public securities of the United States fell in their value to ten for one, and became an article of speculation. The war-worn soldier, who received at the close of the contest only an obligation for the payment of his hard earned dues, was from necessity often obliged to transfer his rights for an insignificant sum. The monied man who had trusted his country in the hour of her distress, was deprived not only of his interest, on which he counted for his daily support but of a great part of the value of his capital. The non-payment of public debts, sometimes inferred a necessity, and always furnished an apology, for not discharging private contracts. Confidence between man and man received a deadly wound. Public faith being first violated, private engagements lost much of their obligatory force. General Washington, who nobly refused any thing for himself, had eloquently though unsuccessfully pleaded the cause of the army, and other public creditors, in his circular letter to the governors, before his resignation, and predicted the evils which followed from the rejection of the revenue system of congress. His observations were as follows: "As to the second article, which respects the performance of public justice, congress have in their late address to the United States almost exhausted the subject. They have explain-

ed their ideas so fully, and have enforced the obligations the states are under to render complete justice to all the public creditors, with so much dignity and energy, that in my opinion no real friend to the honour and independency of America, can hesitate a single moment respecting the propriety of complying with the just and honourable measures proposed. If their arguments do not produce conviction, I know of nothing that will have greater influence, especially when we recollect that the system referred to, being the result of the collected wisdom of the continent, must be esteemed, if not perfect, certainly the least objectionable of any that could be devised, and that if it *shall not be carried into immediate execution, a national bankruptcy with all its deplorable consequences will take place*, before any different plan can possibly be proposed or adopted. So pressing are the present circumstances, and such is the alternative now offered to the states." Congress continued to send forth annual requisitions, for the sums wanted for the public service, and indulged the hope that the states would ere long be convinced of the necessity of adopting an efficient system of general revenue; but their requisitions as well as their system of revenue, were disregarded by some of the states, and but partially complied with by others. From this failure of public justice, a deluge of evils overflowed the United States. These were also increased by an unfavourable balance of trade. The ravages of armies, and the interruption of a free communication between Europe and America during the war, had multiplied the wants of the latter, to a degree which exceeded all previous calculations. An inundation of European manufactures, was therefore one of the first effects which followed the establishment of peace. These were purchased by the Americans far beyond their means of payment.



Adventurers, grasping at the profits of trading with the new formed states, exported to America goods to a great amount, exceeding what either prudence or policy could justify. The Americans soon found themselves involved in a debt; to the discharge of which their resources were unequal. In several instances, these debts were contracted on credit by persons to whom the United States were indebted. These, presuming on the justice of their country, had involved themselves in private engagements, hoping that what they received from the public would furnish them with the means of payment. Such were doubly distressed.

The sufferings of the inhabitants were increased in consequence of the obstructions of their trade. That intercourse with the West-India Islands, from which, when colonies, they derived large supplies of gold and silver, was forbidden to them in their new capacity of independent states. Their fisheries received a severe check, from their being excluded from several ports in which, when colonies, they had found a ready sale for the fruits of their industry, which they drew from the ocean. These evils were still farther aggravated by the stoppage of the bounty on whale oil, to which, when British subjects, they were entitled. To add to their other misfortunes, they could no longer sail with safety in the Mediterranean, a privilege which they had always enjoyed, while they were a part of the British empire. Unable to defend themselves from the Algerine corsairs, they were obliged either to quit that beneficial trade, or ensure it at a ruinous premium.

The United States, from the want of power in their common head, were incapacitated from acting in concert, so as to avail themselves of their natural advantages. Congress called once more upon the states to enlarge

their powers, and particularly to entrust them with the regulation of commerce for a limited number of years. Some states fully complied with this call, but others fettered their grants with such conditions, as prevented the formation of an uniform system.

From the combined operation of these causes, trade languished; credit expired; gold and silver vanished; and in consequence thereof, real property was depreciated to an extent equal to that of the depreciation of continental money, in the 2nd or 3d year of its emission. Instead of imitating the wise policy of Great-Britain, in making an artificial medium of circulation, by funding their debts, several of the states, to alleviate the distresses arising from the want of money, adopted the fallacious expedient of emitting paper, to supply the place of gold and silver: but the remedy increased the disease. If the funding plan had been adopted, the sum due by the United States, was so much within their resources, that by the establishment of efficient funds, for the punctual discharge of the interest, the public debt might have easily been made a public blessing. It would have been a capital for the extension of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, as well as an honest and effectual substitute for real coin: but these advantages, which would have lessened much of the sufferings of the inhabitants, were lost by the imbecility of the general government, and the want of concert in the state legislatures.

When the people, on the return of peace, supposed their troubles to be ended, they found them to be only varied. The calamities of war were followed by another class of evils, different in their origin, but not less injurious in their consequences: The inhabitants feeling the pressure of their sufferings, and not knowing precisely from what source they originated, or how to remedy

them, became uneasy, and many were ready to adopt any desperate measures that turbulent leaders might recommend. In this irritable state, a great number of the citizens of Massachusetts, sore with their enlarged portion of public calamity, were induced by seditious demagogues, to make an open resistance to the operations of their own free government. Insurrections took place in many parts, and laws were trampled upon by the very men whose deputies had enacted them, and whose deputies might have repealed them. By the moderation of the legislature, and especially by the bravery and good conduct of generals Lincoln and Shepard, and the firmness of the well affected militia, the insurgents were speedily quelled, and good order restored, with the loss of about six of the freemen of the state.

The untoward events which followed the reestablishment of peace, though evils of themselves, were overruled for great national good. From the failure of their expectations of an immediate increase of political happiness, the lovers of liberty and independence began to be less sanguine in their hopes from the American revolution, and to fear that they had built a visionary fabric of government, on the fallacious ideas of public virtue; but that elasticity of the human mind, which is nurtured by free constitutions, kept them from desponding. By an exertion of those inherent principles of self-preservation, which republics possess, a recurrence was had to the good sense of the people, for the rectification of fundamental disorders. While the country, free from foreign force and domestic violence, enjoyed tranquillity, a proposition was made by Virginia to all the other states, to meet in convention, for the purpose of digesting a form of government, equal to the exigences of the union. The first motion for this purpose, was made by Mr. Madison, and he had the pleasure of seeing it acceded to by twelve

of the states, and finally to issue in the establishment of a new constitution, which bids fair to repay the citizens of the United States for the toils, dangers, and wastes of the revolution. The fundamental distinction between the articles of confederation and the new constitution; lies in this: the former acted only on the states, the latter on individuals; the former could neither raise men nor money by its own authority, but lay at the discretion of thirteen different legislatures, and without their unanimous concurrence, was unable to provide for the public safety, or for the payment of the national debt. The experience of several years had proved the impossibility of a government answering the end of its institution, which was dependent on others for the means necessary for attaining these ends. By the new constitution, one legislative, executive, and judicial power, pervades the whole union. This insures an uniform observance of treaties, and gives a stability to the general government, which never could be attained while the acts and requisitions of congress were subject to the revision of thirteen legislatures, and while thirteen distinct and unconnected judiciaries, had a constitutional right to decide on the same subject. The people of the United States gave no new powers to their rulers, but made a more judicious arrangement of what they had formerly ceded. They enlarged the powers of the general government, not by taking from the people, but from the state legislatures. They took from the latter a power of levying duties on the importation of merchandize from foreign countries, and transferred it to congress for the common benefit of the union. They also invested the general government with a power to regulate trade, levy taxes and internal duties on the inhabitants. That these enlarged powers might be used only with caution and de-

liberation, congress, which formerly consisted of only one body, was made to consist of two; one of which was to be chosen by the people in proportion to their numbers, the other by the state legislatures. The execution of the acts of this compounded legislature was committed to a supreme magistrate, with the title of president. The constitution, of which these were the principal features, was submitted to the people for ratification. Animated debates took place on the propriety of establishing or rejecting it. Some states, who from their local situation were benefitted by receiving impost duties into their treasuries, were averse from the giving of them up to the union. Others, who were consuming but not importing states, had an interested inducement of an opposite kind, to support the proposed new constitution. The prospects of increased employment for shipping, and the enlargement of commerce, weighed with those states which abounded in sailors and ships, and also with sea port towns, to advocate the adoption of the new system; but those states or parts of states, which depended chiefly on agriculture, were afraid that zeal for encouraging an American marine, by narrowing the grounds of competition among foreigners for purchasing and carrying their produce, would lessen their profits. Some of this description therefore conceived that they had a local interest in refusing the new system.

Individuals who had great influence in state legislatures, or who held profitable places under them, were unwilling to adopt a government, which, by diminishing the power of the states, would eventually diminish their own importance: others who looked forward to seats in the general government, or for offices under its authority, had the same interested reason for supporting its adoption. Some from jealousy of liberty, were afraid

of giving too much power to their rulers; others, from an honest ambition to aggrandize their country, were for paying the way to national greatness by melting down the separate states into a national mass. The former feared the new constitution; the latter gloried in it. Almost every passion which could agitate the human breast, interested states and individuals for and against the adoption of the proposed plan of government. Some whole classes of people were in its favour. The mass of public creditors expected payment of their debts from the establishment of an efficient government, and were therefore decidedly for its adoption. Such as lived on salaries, and those who, being clear of debt, wished for a mixed medium of circulation and the free course of law, were the friends of a constitution which prohibited the issuing of a paper money, and all interference between debtor and creditor. In addition to these, the great body of independent men, who saw the necessity of an energetic general government, and who, from the jarring interests of the different states, could not foresee any probability of getting a better one than was proposed, gave their support to what the federal convention had projected, and their influence effected its establishment. After a full consideration, and thorough discussion of its principles, it was ratified by the conventions of eleven of the original thirteen states, and the accession of the other two is soon expected.\* The ratification of it was celebrated in most of the capitals of the states with elegant processions, which far exceeded any thing of the kind ever before exhibited in America. Time and experience only can fully discover the effects of this new distribution of the powers of

\* North-Carolina, and Rhode-Island, since writing the above, have acceded to the union.

government; but in theory it seems well calculated to unite liberty with safety, and to lay the foundation of national greatness, while it abridges none of the rights of the states, or of the people.

The new constitution having been ratified by eleven of the states, and senators and representatives having been chosen agreeably to the articles thereof, they met at New-York and commenced proceedings under it. The old congress, and confederation, like the continental money, expired without a sigh or groan. A new congress, with more ample powers, and a new constitution, partly national and partly federal, succeeded in their place to the great joy of all who wished for the happiness of the United States.

Though great diversity of opinions had prevailed about the new constitution, there was but one opinion about the person who should be appointed its supreme executive officer. The people, as well anti-federalists, as federalists, (for by these names, the parties for and against the new constitution were called) unanimously turned their eyes on the late commander of their armies, as the most proper person to be their first president. Perhaps there was not a well informed individual in the United States, (Mr. Washington himself only excepted) who was not anxious that he should be called to the executive administration of the proposed new plan of government. Unambitious of farther honours, he had retired to his farm in Virginia, and hoped to be excused from all farther public service; but his country called him by an unanimous vote to fill the highest station in its gift. That honest zeal for the public good, which had uniformly influenced him to devote both his time and talents to the service of his country, got the better of his love of retirement, and induced him once

more to engage in the great business of making a nation happy. The intelligence of his election being communicated to him, while on his farm in Virginia, he set out soon after for New-York. On his way thither, the road was crowded with numbers anxious to see the man of the people. Escorts of militia, and of gentlemen of the first character and station, attended him from state to state, and he was every where received with the highest honours which a grateful and admiring people could confer. Addresses of congratulation were presented to him by the inhabitants of almost every place of consequence through which he passed, to all of which he returned such modest unassuming answers as were in every respect suitable to his situation. So great were the honours, with which he was loaded, that they could scarcely have failed to produce haughtiness in the mind of any ordinary man; but nothing of the kind was ever discovered in this extraordinary personage. On all occasions he behaved to all men with the affability of one citizen to another. He was truly great in deserving the plaudits of his country, but much greater in not being elated with them.

Of the numerous addresses which were presented on this occasion, one subscribed by Dennis Ramsay, the mayor of Alexandria, in the name of the people of that city, who were the neighbours of Mr. Washington, was particularly and universally admired. It was in the following words :

*"To GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq. President of the United States, &c.*

*"Again your country commands your care. Obedient to its wishes, unmindful of your ease, we see you again relinquishing the bliss of retirement; and this too,*



at a period of life, when nature itself seems to authorize a preference of repose!

“Not to extol your glory as a soldier; not to pour forth our gratitude for past services; not to acknowledge the justice of the unexampled honour which has been conferred upon you, by the spontaneous and unanimous suffrage of three millions of freemen, in your election to the supreme magistracy; nor to admire the patriotism which directs your conduct, do your neighbours and friends now address you; themes less splendid, but more endearing, impress our minds. The first and best of citizens must leave us; our aged must lose their ornament; our youth their model; our agriculture its improver; our commerce its friend; our infant academy its protector; our poor their benefactor; and the interior navigation of the Potomac (an event replete with the most extensive utility, already, by your unre-mitted exertions, brought into partial use) its institutor and promoter.

“Farewell!—Go! and make a grateful people happy; a people who will be doubly grateful, when they contemplate this recent sacrifice for their interest.

“To that Being, who maketh and unmaketh at his will, we commend you; and after the accomplishment of the arduous business to which you are called, may He restore to us again, the best of men, and the most beloved fellow citizen!”

To this Mr. Washington returned the following answer:

“GENTLEMEN,

“Although I ought not to conceal, yet I cannot describe the painful emotions which I felt in being called upon to determine whether I would accept or refuse the presidency of the United States. The unanimity in the

choice, the opinion of my friends, communicated from different parts of Europe, as well as from America, the apparent wish of those who were not entirely satisfied with the constitution in its present form; and an ardent desire on my part to be instrumental in connecting the good will of my countrymen towards each other; have induced an acceptance. Those who know me best (and you, my fellow citizens, are, from your situation, in that number) know better than any others, my love of retirement is so great, that no earthly consideration, short of a conviction of duty, could have prevailed upon me to depart from a resolution "never more to take any share in transactions of a public nature." For, at my age, and in my circumstances, what prospects or advantages could I propose to myself, from embarking again on the tempestuous and uncertain ocean of public life?

"I do not feel myself under the necessity of making public declarations, in order to convince you, gentlemen, of my attachment to yourselves, and regard for your interests; the whole tenor of my life has been open to your inspection; and my past actions, rather than my present declarations, must be the pledge of my future conduct.

"In the mean time, I thank you most sincerely for the expressions of kindness contained in your valedictory address. It is true, just after having bade adieu to my domestic connexions, this tender proof of your friendship is but too well calculated still further to awaken my sensibility, and increase my regret at parting from the enjoyment of private life.

"All that now remains for me, is to commit myself and you to the protection of that beneficent Being, who on a former occasion hath happily brought us together,

after a long and distressing separation; perhaps the same gracious Providence will again indulge me. Unutterable sensations must then be left to more expressive silence; while from an aching heart, I bid you all, my affectionate friends, and kind neighbours, farewell!"

Gray's bridge over the Schuylkill, which Mr. Washington had to pass, was highly decorated with laurels and evergreens. At each end of it were erected magnificent arches composed of laurels, emblematical of the ancient Roman triumphal arches; and on each side of the bridge, was a laurel shrubbery. As Mr. Washington passed the bridge, a youth ornamented with sprigs of laurel, assisted by machinery, let drop above his head, though unperceived by him, a civic crown of laurel. Upwards of 20,000 citizens lined the fences, fields, and avenues, between the Schuylkill and Philadelphia. Through these he was conducted to the city, by a numerous and respectable body of the citizens, where he partook of an elegant entertainment provided for him. The pleasures of the day were succeeded by a handsome display of fireworks in the evening.

When Mr. Washington crossed the Delaware, and landed on the Jersey shore; he was saluted with three cheers by the inhabitants of the vicinity. When he came to the brow of the hill, on his way to Trenton, a triumphal arch was erected on the bridge, by the direction of the ladies of the place. The crown of the arch was highly ornamented with imperial laurels and flowers, and on it was displayed in large figures, *December 26th, 1776*. On the sweep of the arch, beneath was this inscription, *The defender of the Mothers, will also protect their Daughters*. On the north side was ranged a number of young misses dressed in white, with gar-

lands of flowers on their heads, and baskets of flowers on their arms; in the second row stood the young ladies, and behind them the married ladies of the town. The instant he passed the arch, the young misses began to sing the following ode:

"Welcome mighty chief once more,  
"Welcome to this grateful shore:  
"Now no mercenary foe  
"Aims again the fatal blow,  
"Aims at thee the fatal blow,  
"Virgins fair, and matrons grave,  
"These thy conquering arm did save,  
"Build for thee triumphal bowers,  
"Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers,  
"Strew your Hero's way with flowers."

As they sung the last lines, they strewed their flowers on the road before their beloved deliverer. His situation on this occasion, contrasted with what he had in December 1776 felt on the same spot, when the affairs of America were at the lowest ebb of depression, filled him with sensations that cannot be described. He was rowed across the bay from Elizabeth-Town to New-York, in an elegant barge by thirteen pilots. All the vessels in the harbour hoisted their flags. Stairs were erected and decorated for his reception. On his landing, universal joy diffused itself through every order of the people, and he was received and congratulated by the governor of the state, and officers of the corporation. He was conducted from the landing place to the house which had been fitted up for his reception, and was followed by an elegant procession of militia in their uniforms, and by great numbers of citizens. In the evening, the houses of the inhabitants were brilliantly illuminated. A day was fixed, soon after his arrival, for his taking the oath of office, which was in the following words: "I do solemnly swear, that I will faithfully

execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend, the constitution of the United States." On this occasion, he was wholly clothed in American manufactures. In the morning of the day appointed for this purpose, the clergy of different denominations assembled their congregations in their respective places of worship, and offered up public prayers for the president and people of the United States. About noon, a procession, followed by a multitude of citizens, moved from the President's house to Federal Hall. When they came within a short distance from the Hall, the troops formed a line on both sides of the way, through which Mr. Washington, accompanied by the vice president, Mr. John Adams, passed into the senate chamber. Immediately after, accompanied by both houses, he went into the gallery fronting Broad street, and before them and an immense concourse of citizens, took the oath prescribed by the constitution, which was administered by R. R. Livingston, the chancellor of the state of New-York. An awful silence prevailed among the spectators during this part of the ceremony. It was a minute of the most sublime political joy. The chancellor then proclaimed him President of the United States. This was answered by the discharge of 13 guns, and by the effusions of shouts, from near 10,000 grateful and affectionate hearts. The president bowed most respectfully to the people, and the air resounded again with their acclamations. He then retired to the senate chamber, where he made the following speech to both houses.

*"Fellow citizens of the Senate,*

*and of the House of Representatives,*

*"Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that of*

which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years; a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health, to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens, a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence, one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil-administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver, is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance, by which it might be affected. All I dare hope, is, that, if in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendant proof of the confidence of my fellow citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination, for the weighty and untried cares before me; my *error* will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

“Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the pre-

sent station ; it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act of my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being, who rules over the universe—who presides in the councils of nations—and whose providential aids can supply every human defect—that His benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes ; and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own ; nor those of my fellow citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible Hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency ; and in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations, and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seems to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking, that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

“By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the president “to recommend to your consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.” The circumstances under which I now meet you will acquit me from entering into that subject, farther than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled, and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism, which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In those honourable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as on one side no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests; so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of free government, be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world. I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous people, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven, can



never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as *deeply*, perhaps as *finally* staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

“Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the 5th article of the constitution, is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them.

“Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good.

“For I assure myself that whilst you carefully avoid every altercation which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lesson of experience; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impregably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

“To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the house of representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible.

“When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated

my duty required, that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments, which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive departments; and must accordingly pray, that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures, as the public good may be thought to require.

“Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since He has been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government, for the security of their union, and the advancement of their happiness; so His divine blessing may be equally *conspicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures, on which the success of this government must depend.”

The president and congress, then attended on divine service.

In the evening a very ingenious and splendid shew of fire-works was exhibited. Betwixt the fort and the bowling-green stood conspicuous, a superb and brilliant transparent painting, in the centre of which was the portrait of the president, represented under the emblem of Fortitude; on his right hand was Justice, representing the Senate of the United States, and on his left, Wisdom, representing the House of Representatives.

This memorable day completed the organization of

the new constitution. By this establishment the rising generation will have an opportunity of observing the result of an experiment in politics, which before has never been fairly made. The experience of former ages, has given many melancholy proofs, that popular governments have seldom answered in practice, to the theories and warm wishes of their admirers. The present inhabitants of independent America, now have an opportunity to wipe off this aspersion, to assert the dignity of human nature, and the capacity of mankind for self-government.

Citizens of the United States! you have a well balanced constitution, established by general consent, which is an improvement on all republican forms of government heretofore established. It possesses the good qualities of monarchy, but without its vices—the wisdom and stability of an aristocracy, but without the insolence of hereditary masters—the freedom and independence of a popular assembly, acquainted with the wants and wishes of the people, but without the capacity of doing those mischiefs which result from untrouled power in one assembly. The end and object of it is public good. If you are not happy, it will be your own fault. No knave or fool can plead an hereditary right to sport with your property or your liberties. Your laws and your lawgivers must all proceed from yourselves. You have the experience of nearly six thousand years, to point out the rocks on which former republics have been dashed to pieces. Learn wisdom from their misfortunes. Cultivate justice, both public and private. No government will or can endure, which does not protect the rights of its subjects. Unless such efficient regulations are adopted, as will secure property as well as liberty, one revolution will follow another. Anarchy, monarchy or despotism, will be the consequence. By

just laws, and the faithful execution of them, public and private credit will be restored, and the restoration of credit will be a mine of wealth to this young country. It will make a fund for agriculture, commerce and manufactures, which will soon enable the United States to claim an exalted rank among the nations of the earth. Such are the resources of your country; and so trifling are your debts, compared with your resources, that proper systems, wisely planned and faithfully executed, will soon fill your extensive territory with inhabitants, and give you the command of such ample capitals, as will enable you to run the career of national greatness, with advantages equal to the oldest kingdoms of Europe. What they have been slowly growing to, in the course of near two thousand years, you may hope to equal within one century. If you continue under one government, built on the solid foundations of public justice, and public virtue, there is no point of national greatness to which you may not aspire with a well founded hope of speedily attaining it. Cherish and support a reverence for government, and cultivate union between the east and the south, the Atlantic and the Mississippi. Let the greatest good of the greatest number be the pole star of your public and private deliberations. Shun wars, they beget debt, add to the common vices of mankind, and produce others which are almost peculiar to themselves. Agriculture, manufacture and commerce, are your proper business. Seek not to enlarge your territory by conquest. It is already sufficiently extensive. You have ample scope for the employment of your most active minds, in promoting your own domestic happiness. Maintain your own rights, and let all others remain in quiet possession of theirs. Avoid discord, faction, luxury, and the other vices which have been the bane of commonwealths. Cherish and reward the phi-

losophers, the statesmen and the patriots, who devote their talents and time, at the expense of their private interests, to the toils of enlightening and directing their fellow citizens, and thereby rescue citizens and rulers of republics, from the common and too often merited charge, of ingratitude. Practise industry, frugality, temperance, moderation, and the whole lovely train of republican virtues. Banish from your borders the liquid fire of the West-Indies, which, while it entails poverty and disease, prevents industry, and foment private quarrels. Venerate the plough, the hoe, and all the implements of agriculture. Honour the men, who, with their own hands, maintain their families, and raise up children who are inured to toil, and capable of defending their country. Reckon the necessity of labour, not among the curses, but the blessings of life. Your towns will probably ere long be engulfed in luxury and effeminacy. If your liberties and future prospects depended on them your career of liberty would probably be short; but a great majority of your country must, and will be yeomanry, who have no other dependence than on Almighty God for his usual blessing on their daily labour. From the great excess of the number of such independent farmers in these states, over and above all other classes of inhabitants, the long continuance of your liberties may be reasonably presumed.

Let the hapless African sleep undisturbed on his native shore; and give over wishing for the extermination of the ancient proprietors of this land. Universal justice is universal interest. The most enlarged happiness of one people, by no means requires the degradation or destruction of another. It would be more glorious to civilize one tribe of savages, than to exterminate or expel a score. There is territory enough for them and for you. Instead of invading their rights, promote their happi-

ness, and give them no reason to curse the folly of their fathers, who suffered yours to sit down on the soil which the common Parent of us both had previously assigned to them: but, above all, be particularly careful that your own descendants do not degenerate into savages. Diffuse the means of education, and particularly of religious instruction, through your remotest settlements. To this end, support and strengthen the hands of public teachers, and especially of worthy clergymen. Let your voluntary contributions confute the dishonourable position, that religion cannot be supported but by compulsory establishments. Remember that there can be no political happiness without liberty; that there can be no liberty without morality; and that there can be no morality without religion.

It is now your turn to figure on the face of the earth, and in the annals of the world. You possess a country which in less than a century, will probably contain fifty millions of inhabitants. You have, with a great expense of blood and treasure, rescued yourselves and your posterity from the domination of Europe. Perfect the good work you have begun, by forming such arrangements and institutions as bid fair for ensuring to the present and future generations the blessings for which you have successfully contended.

May the Almighty Ruler of the universe, who has raised you to independence, and given you a place among the nations of the earth, make the American revolution an era in the history of the world, remarkable for the progressive increase of human happiness!

THE END.



**BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS**  
**OF**  
**GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON,**  
**FIRST PRESIDENT OF**  
**THE UNITED STATES.**

**CONTAINING**  
**THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF HIS LIFE, WITH HIS**  
**SPEECHES TO CONGRESS,**

**AND**  
**PUBLIC ADDRESSES.**

---

**A NEW EDITION.**

---

**LEXINGTON, KY.**  
**PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY DOWNING AND PHILLIPS.**

.....  
**1815.**





BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS  
OF  
GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON.

---

**I**N the history of Man, we contemplate with particular satisfaction, those legislators, heroes, and philosophers, whose wisdom, valour, and virtue, have contributed to the happiness of the human species.—We trace the luminous progress of those excellent beings, with secret complacency; our emulation is roused, while we behold them steadily pursue the path of rectitude, in defiance of every obstruction; we rejoice that we are of the same species, and thus self-love becomes the handmaid of virtue.

The authentic pages of biography unite the most grateful amusement with instruction. Truth supports the dignity of the historic muse, who will not admit of either fulsome panegyric, or invidious censure.—She describes her hero with genuine simplicity—mentions his frailties, his characteristic peculiarities, and his shining qualities.—In short, she gives a faithful and lively portrait of the man, investigates the latent motives of his actions, and celebrates those virtues which have raised him to an enviable preëminence above his cotemporaries.

We sympathize in the sufferings, and participate in the triumphs of those great men who stand

“ Majestic ’mid the monuments of Time;”

and the approbation of excellence in others, naturally leads the mind to imitate the object of its adoration.

Among those patriots who have a claim to our veneration, George Washington appears in a conspicuous

place in the first rank. This illustrious man was born February 22d, 1732, in the parish of Washington, Westmoreland county, in the state of Virginia. His ancestors were possessed of property in England, near Cave, in the east riding of Yorkshire, which they sold, and came over to America in the year 1657, and purchased lands in King George county, Virginia. His father, Mr. Augustus Washington, was the second in descent after their emigration, and had a numerous offspring. He was possessed of large property, and of distinguished reputation. George was his third son, and the first fruit of his second marriage. He received his education under the eye of his father, from a private tutor, under whom he acquired a knowledge of the Latin language, sufficient for the ordinary purposes of life, his mother-tongue grammatically, and the elements of mathematics, which he, in his rising years, carefully improved by practical experiments in topographical and military plans. When he was but ten years of age, his father died; and, at fifteen, he was entered a midshipman on board a British ship of war then stationed on the coast of Virginia. But after his baggage had been packed up for embarkation, the plan was abandoned, in obedience to the calls of maternal affection. For several years after he quitted his tutor, the learning he had acquired was much improved by a disposition to study, and he particularly applied himself to the practical parts of surveying, a knowledge of which was then, as it is now, very important and necessary to men of landed property in every part of the American continent. His merits in this branch of knowledge, occasioned him being nominated surveyor to a certain district in Virginia, an appointment rather creditable than lucrative; but which afforded him advantageous opportunities, particularly an acquaintance with the country, the properties of lands, and the situations and direction of creeks and rivers, and it enabled him to make a choice of some valuable tracts of land for subsequent purchase.

After his father died, the charge of the family devolv-

ed on his elder brother Lawrence, a young man of the most promising talents; who, at that time, was a captain, under admiral Vernon, in the colonial troops employed in the expedition against Carthage; upon his return, having come into the possession of his patrimonial estates, in honour of his admiral, from whom he had received many civilities, he named his new mansion *Mount Vernon*. He was afterwards made adjutant-general of the militia of Virginia, but did not long survive, and on his demise (notwithstanding there were heirs of an elder branch, who possess a large share of the patrimony) the eldest son by the second marriage inherited the part upon which that seat now stands, and a considerable landed property attached to it.

At the death of his brother, the vacant office of adjutant-general was in consequence of the increased population and extensive limits of the colony, divided into three districts, and the *future Hero of America*, before he was twenty years of age, began his military career, by an appointment to the rank of major in that department.

In 1753, an event occurred, which called his abilities into more active public notice. The jealousies of the French and English governments were at their height. Encroachments were reported to have been made by the former from their settlements in Canada, on the frontier territories of the British colonies along the rivers Ohio and de Bœuf.\* Orders were received from England, by the governor and council of Virginia, to repel by force these encroachments; in consequence of which, lieutenant governor Dinwiddie despatched young major Washington, with plenary powers to ascertain the facts, treat with the Indians, and to engage them to continue firm in their attachment to England, and to warn the French to desist from the inroads they were making, in direct violation of the treaties then subsisting between the two crowns. This mission he performed with singular industry, intelligence and address.

\* French Creek.

The appointment of major Washington was deemed a circumstance somewhat extraordinary at that period; it was said that a youth unacquainted with the enlarged commerce of the world, unexperienced in political concerns, appeared to be unfit to be employed to conduct a negotiation, wherein subjects of the greatest importance were involved: it was true that the subjects were important, for they shortly after became the origin of a war between the two nations, which raged for many years, and extended throughout every part of the globe, and which ended in the final expulsion of the French from the continent.

But those who had formed such superficial notions of the major, were, in the end, deceived by the success and abilities manifested through the whole transaction. This having been the first effort of that career which has terminated with so much splendour in history, and honour and happiness to himself and his country.

On his return from this perilous embassy, with Mons. de St. Pierre's answer, and his good success in the Indian negotiations, major Washington was complimented with the thanks and approbation of his country. His journal does great credit to his industry, attention, and judgment; and it has since proved of infinite service to those who have been doomed to traverse the same inhospitable tracts.

Governor Dinwiddie's letter to the French commandant, and M. de St. Pierre's answer, have been published in several periodical works, both in America and in Britain. The governor's letter stated, that he had heard with surprise and concern, that the French were erecting fortresses and making settlements in the lands upon the river Ohio, which are the property of the crown of Great-Britain; in consequence of which, he is induced in the name of the king, to send the bearer, G. Washington, esq. one of the adjutants-general of the forces of Virginia, to complain of the encroachments made in violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, requesting by whose authority he had marched from

Canada with an armed force to invade the British territories, and that the French forces depart peaceably without prosecuting a purpose so interruptive to the harmony which his majesty is so desirous to continue and cultivate with the most christian king. Also, that major Washington might be entertained with the politeness due to his rank. The French commandant's answer only stated, that he would transmit the governor's letter to Canada, to his general, the marquis du Quesne, by whose answer he would be guided; that he was upon French ground, by the orders of his general, consequently that he could not obey the summons of the governor; and that he had made it his particular care to receive Mr. Washington with the distinction suitable to his dignity.

In 1754, the designs of the French becoming more manifest, and their movements more daring, orders were issued by administration for the colonies to arm and unite in one confederacy. The assembly of Virginia took the lead, by voting a sum of money for the public service, and raising a regiment for the protection of the frontiers of the colony. Of this corps, Mr. Fry, one of the professors of the college, was appointed, colonel, and major Washington received the commission of lieutenant-colonel. But colonel Fry died without ever having joined; and of course left his regiment to the second in command. He began his march on the 2d of April, from Alexandria, having under his command one hundred and fifty men. His orders were to march towards the Ohio, there to assist captain Trent to build forts, and defend the possessions of his majesty against the attempts and hostilities of the French. During his march, he was joined by a small detachment under command of captain Stephens, and when he had proceeded as far as Wills-Creek, he received intelligence that captain Trent had been obliged to surrender the fort which he had erected between the Ohio and French-Creek, to a body of about eight hundred French, commanded by captain Contre-cœur; whereupon, colonel Washington, deeming it impracticable to march towards the fort without sufficient

force, thought it most prudent to proceed to open roads so as to pre-occupy the advantageous post at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, which in his journal he recommended for that purpose. He was to have been joined by a detachment of independent regulars from the southern colonies, together with some companies of provincials from North-Carolina and Maryland. But, perceiving the necessity of expedition, and without waiting for their arrival, he commenced his march; but, notwithstanding his precipitate advance, the French had already taken possession and erected a fortification, which they named fort *Du Quesne*, in honour of the marquis du Quesne, the French governor of Canada.

Colonel Washington accordingly proceeded on his march from Wills-Creek; bravely encountering all the obstacles and difficulties of an impervious wilderness, crossing mires, savannas, and rivers. His men were sometimes forced to ford rivers so deep, as to keep them up to the arm-pits; when he had proceeded as far as Turkeyfoot, he received information that a party of French, commanded by M. de Jumonville, were concealed within a short distance of his camp; whereupon, he secured his waggons, and put himself in the best means of defence he was capable of, until he had learned the strength of the enemy, and the place where they were.

Having received from the Indians the necessary information; on the night of the 27th of May, he set out with his men (except about forty, who were left to guard his ammunition, &c.) and a party of Indians, which the half-king sent to his assistance, under a heavy rain, and a night dark as pitch; they travelled along a path scarcely broad enough for one man; they were sometimes fifteen or twenty minutes out of the path before they could come to it again, and so dark, that they would often strike one against another; all night they continued their route, and in the morning about sunrise, formed themselves for an engagement, marching one after another in the Indian manner; the enemy did not discover them until they

were close upon them, when colonel Washington's company fired, and was supported by Mr. Wagers's; these two companies received the whole fire of the French, which lasted a quarter of an hour before the enemy was routed out. M. de Jumonville and nine others were killed, one wounded and twenty-one made prisoners. Among the prisoners was the celebrated woodsman, Mons. de la Force, commissary of the French stores, and two other officers. Only one of the whole party escaped. A Canadian, named Monceau, made such a report of the action as to impress upon the minds of the French, a belief, that colonel Washington's conduct was highly treacherous and dishonourable. The French account of this engagement is contained in a letter from M. de Contrecoeur to the marquis du Quesne, dated Fort du Quesne, May 23d, 1754. It states that M. de Jumonville set out with a small escort, charged with a written summons, in form of a letter, directed to the first English officer he should meet on the lands claimed by the French king, summoning him to withdraw his troops in peace from said territory, otherwise that they would repel force by force, desiring the English officer to return his answer by M. de Jumonville, and to treat that officer with that distinction and respect which he deserved; that the deputy set out, and next morning found himself surrounded by a number of English and Indians, that the English quickly fired two vollies, which killed some soldiers, that M. Jumonville made a sign that he had a letter from his commander, whereupon the fire ceased, and the English surrounded the French officer, in order to hear it, that as he was reading the summons a second time, he was killed by a musket shot in the head; that had it not been for the Indians, who rushed in between the French and English, the former would have been all assassinated, and that the Indians did not fire upon the French. This report was made the most of by the French, who impressed it upon the minds of the surrounding Indians, as a most shocking and base murder perpetrated by the express command of colonel Washington. But the follow-



ing extract from colonel Washington's Journal, of his proceedings given in to governor Dinwiddie, places the transaction in a quite different point of view; he states, viz. "We were advanced pretty near to them as we thought, when they discovered us; whereupon I ordered my company to fire, mine was supported by Mr. Wager's, and my company and his, received the whole fire of the French, during the greatest part of the action, which only lasted a quarter of an hour, before the enemy was routed.

"We killed M. de Jumonville, the commander of that party, as also nine others; we wounded one, and made twenty-one prisoners, among whom were M. la Force, M. Droullon, and two cadets. The Indians scalped the dead, and took away most part of their fire arms, after which we marched on with the prisoners and guard, to the Indian camp, where again I held a council with the half-king; and there informed him that the governor was desirous to see him, and was waiting for him at Winchester; he answered, that, he could not go just then, as his people were in too imminent danger from the French, whom they had fallen upon; that he must send messengers to all the allied nations, in order to invite them to take up the hatchet. He sent a young Delaware Indian to the Delaware nation, and gave him also a French scalp to carry to them. This young man desired to have a part of the presents which were allotted for them, but that the remaining part might be kept for another opportunity: he said he would go to his own family, and to several others, and would wait on them at Mr. Gist's, where he desired men and horses should be sent ready to bring them up to our camp. After this, I marched on with the prisoners: they informed me that they had been sent with a summons to order me to depart. A plausible pretence to discover our camp, and to obtain the knowledge of our forces and situation! It was so clear that they were come to reconnoitre what we were, that I admired at their assurance, when they told me they were come as an embassy; for

their instructions mentioned, that they should get what knowledge they could of the roads, rivers, and of all the country as far as Potomac: and instead of coming as an ambassador, publicly, and in an open manner, they came secretly, and sought after the most hidden retreats, more like deserters than ambassadors; in such retreats they encamped, and remained hid whole days together, and that, no more than five miles from us: from thence they sent spies to reconnoitre our camp; after this was done, they went back two miles, from whence they sent the two messengers spoken of in the instruction, to acquaint M. de Contreœur of the place we were at, and of our disposition, that he might send his detachments to enforce the summons, as soon as it should be given.

“Besides, an ambassador has princely attendants; whereas this was only a simple petty French officer; an ambassador has no need of spies, his character being always sacred; and seeing their intention was so good, why did they tarry two days, at five miles distance from us, without acquainting me with the summons, or, at least, with something that related to the embassy? That alone would be sufficient to raise the greatest suspicions; we ought to do them the justice to say, that, as they wanted to hide themselves, they could not pick out better places than they had done.

“The summons was so insolent, and favoured the gasconade so much, that if it had been brought openly by two men, it would have been an immediate indulgence to have suffered them to return.

“It was the opinion of the half-king in this case, that their intentions were evil, and that it was a pure pretence; that they never intended to come to us but as enemies; and if we had been such fools as to let them go, they would never help us any more to take other Frenchmen.

“They say they called to us as soon as they discovered us, which is an absolute falsehood, for, I was then marching at the head of the company going towards

them, and can positively affirm, that when they first saw us, they ran to their arms, without calling; as I must have heard them, had they so done."

From the French prisoners, colonel Washington had intelligence, that the French forces on the Ohio consisted of upwards of one thousand regulars, and some hundreds of Indians. Upon this intelligence, and considering his little army, which was somewhat reduced, and entirely insufficient to act offensive against the French and Indians, he fell back to a place known by the appellation of the *Great Meadows*, for the sake of forage and supplies. Here he built a temporary stockade, merely to cover his stores; it was from its fate called *Fort Necessity*. Colonel Washington was too sensible of the advantages of Fort du Quesne, to abandon the idea of taking it. Ever since he left Wills-creek, he had been indefatigable in his exertions to form the regiment, open roads, and gain the Indians over to the side of the English; as also to watch the operations of the French, and gain a knowledge of the forts, situation, and forces, even as far as the lakes. He had wrote to the governors of Pennsylvania and Maryland, requesting their aid in the augmentation of his army. He remained at Fort Necessity for the arrival of some expected succour from New-York and Pennsylvania, unmolested, until July following, when his small force, even after it was joined by captain M'Kay's regulars, did not amount to four hundred effectives, was attacked by an army of French and Indians, computed to have been sixteen hundred strong, under the command of the sieur de Villers, the brother of M. de Jumonville. The chief intention of this campaign, the French officer acknowledged, was to revenge the assassination of his brother, and to hinder any establishments on the lands claimed by the king of France.

The Virginians sustained the attack of the enemy's whole force for several hours, and laid near two hundred of them dead in the field, when the French commander, discouraged by such determined resolution, proposed the

less dangerous method of dislodging his enemy by a parley, which ended in a capitulation. It was stipulated that colonel Washington should march away with all the honours of war, and be allowed to carry off all his military stores, effects and baggage. This capitulation was violated from the ungovernable disposition of the Indians, whom the French commander could not restrain from plundering the provincials on the outset of their march, and from making a considerable slaughter of men, cattle, and horses. After this disaster, the remains of the Virginia regiment returned to Alexandria to be recruited and furnished with necessary supplies: during this period, the French redoubled their activity and diligence on the Ohio, and in other places; and Virginia, who determined to send out a larger force, in the spring following, erected forts Cumberland and Loudon, and formed a camp at Wills-creek, in order to annoy the enemy on the Ohio. In these several services (particularly in the construction of forts) colonel Washington was principally employed.

In 1755, the British government sent to this country, general Braddock, who was appointed to the command of all the troops and forces which were, or that should be raised in, or sent to North-America; he landed at Williamsburgh, Virginia, in February, with two veteran regiments from Ireland, but sent his men up the Potomac to Alexandria, there to encamp until he was joined with the independent and provincial corps of America; with this army he was to penetrate through the country to Fort du Quesne (now Fort Pitt) by the route of Wills-creek, to repel the French from the confines of the British settlements; and as no person was better acquainted with the frontier country than colonel Washington, and no one in the colony enjoyed so well established a military character, he was judged to be highly serviceable to general Braddock, but from a royal arrangement of rank, by which "no officer who did not immediately derive his commission from the king, could command one who did," colonel Washington cheer-

fully relinquished his regiment and went as an extra aid de camp into the family of general Braddock. In this capacity, at the battle of Monongahela, on the 9th of July, 1755, he attended that general, whose life was gallantly sacrificed in attempting to extricate his troops from the fatal ambuscade into which his over-weening confidence had conducted them. Braddock had several horses shot under him, before he fell himself; and there was not an officer, whose duty obliged him to be on horseback that day, excepting colonel Washington, who was not either killed or wounded. This circumstance enabled him to display greater abilities in covering the retreat and saving the wreck of the army, than he could otherwise have done. As soon as he had secured their passage over the ford of the Monongahela, and found they were not pursued, he hastened to concert measures for their security with colonel Dunbar, who had remained with the second division and heavy baggage at some distance in the rear. To effect this, he travelled with two guides, all night, through an almost impervious wilderness, notwithstanding the fatigues he had undergone in the day, and although he had so imperfectly recovered from sickness, that he was obliged in the morning to be supported with cushions on his horse. The public accounts in Britain and America were not parsimonious of applause for the essential service he had rendered on so trying an occasion.

Not long after this time, the regulation of rank, which had been so injurious to the colonial officers, was changed to their satisfaction, in consequence of the discontent of the officers, and the remonstrance of colonel Washington. The supreme power of Virginia, impressed with a sense of his merits, gave him, in a new and extensive commission, the command of all the troops raised and to be raised in that colony.

It would not comport with the intended brevity of this sketch, to mention in detail the plans he suggested or the system he pursued for defending the frontiers, until the year 1758, when he commanded the van bri-

gade of general Forbe's army in the capture of Fort du Quesne. A similar reason will preclude the recital of the personal hazards and achievements which happened in the course of his service. The tranquillity on the frontiers of the middle colonies having been restored by the success of this campaign, and the health of colonel Washington having become extremely debilitated by an inveterate pulmonary complaint, in 1759, he resigned his military appointment. Authentic documents are not wanting to shew the tender regret which the Virginia line expressed at parting with their commander, and the affectionate regard which he entertained for them.

Shortly after colonel Washington's resignation, his health was gradually reestablished; and he married Mrs. Custis, an amiable young widow, said to have possessed a fortune of twenty thousand pounds sterling (about 88,900 dollars) in her own right, besides her dower in one of the principal estates in Virginia. With this lady colonel Washington settled as a planter and farmer on his estate in Fairfax county, Virginia.

After some years he gave up planting tobacco, and went altogether into the farming business. He has raised seven thousand bushels of wheat, and ten thousand of Indian corn in one year. Although he had confined his own cultivation to this domestic tract of about nine thousand acres, yet he possessed excellent lands, in large quantities, in several other counties. His judgment in the quality of soils, his command of money to avail himself of purchases, and his occasional employment in early life as a surveyor, gave him opportunities of making advantageous locations; many of which are much improved.

After he left the army, until the year 1774, he thus cultivated the arts of peace. He was constantly a member of assembly, a magistrate of his county and a judge of the court. At this period he was appointed by the assembly of Virginia, in conformity with the universal wish of the people, to be one of their four delegates at

the first general congress of delegates from all the provinces, which met at Philadelphia on the 26th of October, 1774, and consisted of fifty-one members. It was with no small reluctance that he engaged again in the active scenes of life; and we sincerely believe that no motives but such as spring from the most disinterested patriotism, could have prevailed upon him to relinquish the most refined domestic pleasure, which it was ever in his power to command, and the great delight he took in farming and the improvement of his estate.

He was also appointed delegate to the congress which assembled in 1775, in which it was at length determined, after every step towards an accommodation had failed, and every petition from America had been rejected, to repel by force the invasion from Great-Britain, the eyes of the whole continent were immediately turned upon Mr. Washington. With one common voice he was called forth to the defence of his country; and it is, perhaps, his peculiar glory, that there was not a single inhabitant of these states, except himself, who did not approve the choice, and place the firmest confidence in his integrity and abilities.

He arrived at Cambridge, in New-England, in July, 1775, and there took the supreme command of the army of the United Colonies. Previous to this period, hostilities had actually commenced. On the 19th of April, 1775, blood was first shed at the battle of Concord; and on the 17th of June following, the memorable battle of Breed's-hill, commonly called Bunker's-hill, was fought.

General Washington was received at the camp with that heart felt exultation, which superior merit alone can inspire, after having, in his progress through the several states, received every mark of affection and esteem, which they conceived were due to the man, whom the whole continent looked up to for safety and freedom.

His conduct as a general and commander in chief is well known. He underwent many hardships, dangers,

and difficulties, and conducted his military operations with much skill and ability.

It would not comport with the intended brevity of the present memoirs, for us to particularize all his transactions in the course of the revolutionary war; the impression which they made is yet fresh in the mind of every citizen.

But it is hoped, posterity will be taught in what manner he transformed an undisciplined body of peasantry into a regular army of soldiers. Commentaries on his campaigns would undoubtedly be highly interesting and instructive to future generations. The conduct of his first campaign, in March, 1776, in compelling the British troops to abandon Boston, by a bloodless victory, will merit a minute narration. But a volume would scarcely contain the mortifications he experienced, and the hazards to which he was exposed in the years 1776 and 1777, in contending against the prowess of Britain, with an inadequate force. Her armies were far superior to his in number, well organized and disciplined, inured to a camp life, commanded by officers well experienced in military tactics, and aided by powerful fleets, while his was composed of raw and undisciplined peasants, "just dragged from the tender scenes of domestic life—unaccustomed to the din of arms—totally unacquainted with every kind of military skill,"—unused to the subordination so essentially requisite in an army, and often in want of arms, ammunition and clothes, and even food, often exposed to the inclemency of the weather, in the most rigorous seasons, without tents or even a blanket, and discouraged by the want of regular pay. These circumstances fully account for the unsuccessful issue of his first campaigns.

The battle of Long-Island was fought in August, 1776; his army were driven from their post by the British; above two thousand Americans fell on the field, and about half that number were taken prisoners. Fort Washington, on York-Island, surrendered soon after, with two thousand prisoners: desertion and sickness



added to his misfortunes. His army, at the time Lord Howe landed on Long-Island, amounted to twenty-five thousand men, was now reduced to about one eighth of the number.

The approach of winter happily checked the progress of the enemy. General Washington's perseverance and intrepidity improved this circumstance into important advantages. At Trenton, on the morning of the 26th of December, he surprised a body of the enemy's troops, who, finding themselves surrounded, without farther resistance, agreed to lay down their arms.—Twenty-five officers, and nearly one thousand soldiers, were made prisoners; while the American army had only four or five men wounded.

On the third of January following, at Princeton, he made another successful attempt; there he took three hundred prisoners. These enterprizes cheered the drooping spirits of his men, and again added reputation to the American arms. He afterwards retired to Morristown, and remained during the winter, with an inferior force, but with superior skill, checking the enemy from any farther encroachments in that part of the country. We shall not enter into a minute description of the various battles and skirmishes in which he was personally engaged during the campaign of 1777. At the battle of Brandywine, he made a gallant resistance, but was at last forced to quit his ground with the loss of about twelve hundred men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. At Germantown he was repulsed with the loss of six hundred killed or wounded, and about four hundred prisoners. He afterwards retired to winter quarters at Valley-Forge. His army was at this time in a most miserable condition, marching without stockings or shoes over the frozen ground, their feet were so gashed, that their steps were marked with blood: some hundreds of them were without blankets; and in this condition they were, in the middle of winter, to sit down in a forest, and build huts for shelter. The destitute situation of the American army at all times, was certainly a means of procrastinating the war; often times it was upon the

eve of dissolution, even mutinies have been the consequence, while want of success prevented many of the soldiers from continuing longer than the period of their short enlistments, and caused frequent desertion. Indeed nothing but the good destiny and consummate prudence of the commander in chief prevented the want of success from producing want of confidence on the part of the public; for want of success is apt to lead to the adoption of pernicious counsels, through the levity of the people, or the ambition of their demagogues. In the three succeeding years, the germ of discipline unfolded; and the resources of America having been called into cooperation with the land and naval armies of France, produced the glorious conclusion of the campaign in 1781. On the 19th of October, that year, the army under command of general Washington, forced that of the enemy, then under the command of lord Cornwallis, to make a final surrender; his land forces were made prisoners of war to congress; and the naval forces were given up to France. From this time, the gloom began to disappear from our political horizon, and the affairs of the union proceeded in a meliorating train until a peace was most ably negotiated by our ambassadors in Europe, in 1783, by which thirteen of the American colonies were established as sovereign and independent states.

General Washington having never been in Europe, he could not possibly have seen much military service when the armies of Britain were sent to subdue America; yet still, for a variety of reasons, he was by much the most proper man on this continent, and probably any where else, to be placed at the head of an American army. The very high estimation he stood in for integrity and honour, his engaging in the cause of his country from sentiment and a conviction of her wrongs, his moderation in politics, his extensive property, and his approved abilities as a commander, were motives which necessarily obliged the choice of America to fall upon him.

That nature had given him extraordinary military talents, will hardly be controverted by his most bitter enemies ; and having been early actuated with a warm passion to serve his country in the military line, he had greatly improved them by unwearied industry, and a close application to the best writers upon tactics, and by a more than common method and exactness ; and, in reality, when it comes to be considered, that at first he only headed a body of men entirely unacquainted with military discipline or operations, somewhat ungovernable in temper, and who at best could only be styled an alert and good militia, acting under very short enlistments, unclothed, unaccoutred, and at all times very ill supplied with ammunition and artillery ; and that with such an army he withstood the ravages and progress of nearly forty thousand veteran troops, plentifully provided with every necessary article, commanded by the bravest officers in Europe ; and supported by a very powerful navy, which effectually prevented all movements by water ; when, we say, all this comes to be impartially considered, we think we may venture to pronounce, that general Washington will be regarded by mankind as one of the greatest military ornaments of the present age, and his name will command the veneration of the latest posterity.

No person, but those who had an opportunity of viewing the continental army, can form any adequate idea of its imperfect state when general Washington first assumed the command, nor was it without the most unwearied application and perseverance, which few men but him, could have undergone, that he was able to establish that discipline which ultimately aided his success. From the period he first assumed the command, until the final dissolution of the army, his care and anxiety for them continued. The army he considered as his family ; and after the embarrassments of the day, after the toil and fatigues of a battle, we find him stealing a portion of time allotted for rest, devising means the most salutary, for their amelioration, at all times charac-

terized with that economy and frugality which the national resources required.

The following extracts from his official letters to congress on this subject, are worthy of perusal: they do ample justice to his feelings, and must make a lasting impression in the hearts of his fellow soldiers, viz.

*Extract of a letter from general Washington to the honourable congress, dated Cambridge, September 21, 1775.*

“It gives me great pain to be obliged to solicit the attention of the honourable congress to the state of this army, in terms which imply the slightest apprehension of being neglected. But my situation is inexpressibly distressing, to see the winter fast approaching upon a naked army; the time of their service within a few weeks of expiring; and no provision yet made for such important events. Added to these, the military chest is totally exhausted: the paymaster has not a single dollar in hand: the commissary general assures me he has strained his credit, for the subsistence of the army, to the utmost. The quarter master general is precisely in the same situation; and the greatest part of the troops are in a state not far from mutiny, upon the deduction from their stated allowance. I know not to whom I am to impute this failure; but I am of opinion, if the evil is not immediately remedied, and more punctually observed in future, the army must absolutely break up. I hoped I had so fully expressed myself on this subject, (both by letter, and to those members of the congress who honoured the camp with a visit) that no disappointment could possibly happen. I therefore hourly expected advice from the paymaster, that he had received a fresh supply, in addition to the hundred and seventy-two thousand dollars delivered him in August; and thought myself warranted to assure the public creditors that in a few days they should be satisfied. But the delay has brought matters to such a crisis, as admits of no further uncertain expectation. I have therefore sent off

this express, with orders to make all possible despatch. It is my most earnest request, that he may be returned with all possible expedition, unless the honourable congress have already forwarded what is so indispensably necessary."

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. W.

*Camp.*

LETTER FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

*New-York, July 25, 1776.*

"SIR,

"Disagreeable as it is to me, and unpleasing as it may be to congress, to multiply officers, I find myself under the unavoidable necessity of asking an increase of my aids de camp. The augmentation of my command; the increase of my correspondence; the orders to give; the instructions to draw; cut out more business than I am able to execute in time with propriety. The business of so many different departments centering with me, and by me to be handed on to congress for their information; added to the intercourse I am obliged to keep up with the adjacent states; and incidental occurrences; all of which require confidential and not hack writers to execute; renders it impossible, in the present state of things, for my family to discharge the several duties expected of me, with that precision and despatch that I could wish. What will it be then when we come into a more active scene, and I am called from twenty different places perhaps at the same instant?

"Congress will do me the justice to believe (I hope) that it is not my inclination or wish to run the continent to any unnecessary expense; and those who better know me will not suspect that shew and parade can have any influence on my mind in this instance. A conviction of the necessity of it, for the regular discharge

of the trust reposed in me, is the governing motive for the application; and, as such, is submitted to congress by,  
 Sir, your most obedient, &c.

G. W."

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON TO  
 THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

"SIR, *New-York, September 2, 1776.*

"As my intelligence of late has been rather unfavourable, and would be received with anxiety and concern; peculiarly happy should I esteem myself, were it in my power at this time, to transmit such information to congress as would be more pleasing and agreeable to their wishes: but, unfortunately for me; unfortunately for them, it is not.

"Our situation is truly distressing. The check our detachment sustained on the twenty-seventh ultimo, has dispirited too great a proportion of our troops, and filled their minds with apprehension and despair. The militia, instead of calling forth their utmost efforts to brave and manly opposition, in order to repair our losses, are dismayed, untractable, and impatient to return. Great numbers of them have gone off; and in some instances, almost by whole regiments, by half ones, and by companies at a time. This circumstance, of itself, independent of others, when fronted by a well appointed enemy, superior in number to our whole collected force, would be sufficiently disagreeable: but, when their example has infected another part of the army; when their want of discipline, and refusal of almost every kind of restraint and government, have produced a like conduct but too common to the whole, and an entire disregard of that order and subordination necessary to the well doing of an army, and which had been inculcated before, as well as the nature of our military establishment would admit of; our condition is still more alarming: and with the deepest concern I am obliged to confess my want of confidence in the generality of the troops.

"All these circumstances fully confirm the opinion I ever entertained, and which I more than once in my letters took the liberty of mentioning to congress, that no dependence could be put in a militia, or other troops than those enlisted and embodied for a longer period than our regulations heretofore have prescribed. I am persuaded, and as fully convinced as I am of any one fact that has happened, that our liberties must of necessity be greatly hazarded, if not entirely lost, if their defence is left to any but a permanent standing army; I mean, one to exist during the war. Nor would the expense incident to the support of such a body of troops as would be competent to almost every exigency, far exceed that which is daily incurred by calling in succour, and new enlistments, which, when effected, are not attended with any good consequence. Men who have been free, and subject to no controul, cannot be reduced to order in an instant: and the privileges and exemptions they claim, and will have, influence the conduct of others; and the aid derived from them is nearly counterbalanced by the disorder, irregularity, and confusion they occasion.

"I cannot find that the bounty of ten dollars is likely to produce the desired effect. When men can get double that sum to engage for a month or two in the militia, and that militia frequently called out, it is hardly to be expected. The addition of land might have a considerable influence on a permanent enlistment."

---

LETTER FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

*Col. Morris' on the Heights of Haerlem.*

"SIR,

*Sept. 24, 1776.*

"From the hours allotted to sleep, I will borrow a few moments to convey my thoughts on sundry important matters to congress. I shall offer them with the sincerity which ought to characterize a man of candour, and with the freedom which may be used in giving useful

information, without incurring the imputation of presumption.

“We are now, as it were, upon the eve of another dissolution of our army. The remembrance of the difficulties which happened upon the occasion last year, the consequences which might have followed the change, if proper measures had been taken by the enemy, added to a knowledge of the present temper and situation of the troops, reflect but a gloomy prospect upon the appearances of things now, and satisfy me beyond the possibility of doubt, that, unless some speedy and effectual measures are adopted by congress, our cause will be lost.

“It is in vain to expect that any, or more than a trifling part of this army will again engage in the service on the encouragement offered by congress, when men find that their townsmen and companions are receiving twenty, thirty, and more dollars, for a few months’ service, (which is truly the case) it cannot be expected, without using compulsion; and to force them into the service would answer no valuable purpose. When men are irritated, and the passions inflamed, they fly hastily and cheerfully to arms; but after the first emotions are over \*\*\*, a soldier, reasoned with upon the goodness of the cause he is engaged in, and the inestimable rights he is contending for, hears you with patience, and acknowledges the truth of your observations, but adds, that it is of no more importance to him than others. The officer makes you the same reply, with this further remark, that his pay will not support him, and he cannot ruin himself and family to serve his country, when every member of the community is equally interested and benefitted by his labours.

“It becomes evidently clear then, that as this contest is not likely to be the work of a day,—as the war must be carried on systematically,—and to do it you must have good officers,—there are, in my judgment, no other possible means to obtain them but by establishing your army upon a permanent footing, and giving your officers good pay. This will induce gentlemen and men of character



to engage: and, till the bulk of your officers are composed of such persons as are actuated by principles of honour and a spirit of enterprize, you have little to expect from them. They ought to have such allowances as will enable them to live like and support the characters of gentlemen. Besides, something is due to the man who puts his life in [your] hands, hazards his health, and forsakes the sweets of domestic enjoyment. Why a captain in the continental service should receive no more than five shillings currency per day for performing the same duties that an officer of the same rank in the British service receives ten shillings sterling for, I never could conceive, especially when the latter is provided with every necessary he requires upon the best terms, and the former can scarce procure them at any rate. There is nothing that gives a man consequence and renders him fit for command, like a support that renders him independent of every body but the state he serves.

“With respect to the men, nothing but a good bounty can obtain them upon a permanent establishment; and for no shorter time than the continuance of the war, ought they to be engaged; as facts incontestibly prove that the difficulty and cost of enlistments increase with time. When the army was first raised at Cambridge, I am persuaded that the men might have been got, without a bounty, for the war. After this they began to see that the contest was not likely to end so speedily as was imagined, and to feel their consequence by remarking, that, to get in the militia in the course of the last year, many towns were induced to give them a bounty.

“Foreseeing the evils resulting from this, and the destructive consequences which unavoidably would follow short enlistments, I took the liberty in a long letter to recommend the enlistments for and during the war, assigning such reasons for it as experience has since convinced me were well founded. At that time, twenty dollars would, I am persuaded, have engaged the men for this term. But it will not do to look back: and if the present opportunity is slipped, I am persuaded that

twelve months more will increase our difficulties fourfold. I shall therefore take the freedom of giving it as my opinion, that a good bounty be immediately offered, aided by the proffer of at least a hundred or a hundred and fifty acres of land, and a suit of clothes and blanket to each non-commissioned officer and soldier; as I have good authority for saying, that, however high the men's pay may appear, it is barely sufficient, in the present scarcity and dearness of all kinds of goods, to keep them in clothes, much less afford support to their families.

"If this encouragement then is given to the men, and such pay allowed the officers as will induce gentlemen of character and liberal sentiments to engage, and proper care and precaution used in the nomination (having more regard to the characters of persons than the number of men they can enlist,) we should in a little time have an army able to cope with any that can be opposed to it, as there are excellent materials to form one out of. But while the only merit an officer possesses is his ability to raise men, while those men consider and treat him as an equal, and (in the character of an officer) regard him no more than a broomstick, being mixed together as one common herd, no order nor discipline can prevail; nor will the officer ever meet with that respect which is essentially necessary to due subordination.

"To place any dependence upon militia, is assuredly resting upon a broken staff,—men just dragged from the tender scenes of domestic life,—unaccustomed to the din of arms,—totally unacquainted with every kind of military skill; which being followed by a want of confidence in themselves, when opposed to troops regularly trained, disciplined, and appointed, superior in knowledge, and superior in arms, makes them timid and ready to fly from their own shadows. Besides, the sudden change in their manner of living (particularly in the lodging) brings on sickness in many, impatience in all, and such an unconquerable desire of returning to their respective homes, that it not only produces shameful and scandalous deser-

tions among themselves, but infuses the like spirit into others.

“Again; men accustomed to unbounded freedom and no controul, cannot brook the restraint which is indispensably necessary to the good order and government of an army; without which, licentiousness and every kind of disorder triumphantly reign. To bring men to a proper degree of subordination is not the work of a day, a month, or even a year: and unhappily for us and the cause we are engaged in, the little discipline I have been labouring to establish in the army under my immediate command, is in a manner done away, by having such a mixture of troops as have been called together within these few months.

“Relaxed and unfit as our rules and regulations of war are for the government of an army, the militia (those properly so called; for of these we have two sorts, the six months men, and those sent in as a temporary aid) do not think themselves subject to them, and therefore take liberties which the soldier is punished for. This creates jealousy; jealousy begets dissatisfactions; and these by degrees ripen into mutiny, keeping the whole army in a confused and disordered state; rendering the time of those who wish to see regularity and good order prevail, more unhappy than words can describe. Besides this, such repeated changes take place, that all arrangement is set at nought, and the constant fluctuation of things deranges every plan as fast as adopted.

“These, sir, congress may be assured, are but a small part of the inconveniences which might be enumerated, and attributed to militia: but there is one that merits particular attention, and that is the expense. Certain I am, that it would be cheaper to keep fifty or an hundred thousand in constant pay, than to depend upon half the number, and supply the other half occasionally by militia. The time the latter are in pay before and after they are in camp, assembling and marching; the waste of ammunition, the consumption of stores, which, in spite of every resolution or requisition of congress, they must be fur-

nished with, or sent home; added to other incidental expenses consequent upon their coming and conduct in camp, surpasses all idea, and destroys every kind of regularity and economy which you could establish among fixed and settled troops, and will, in my opinion, prove (if the scheme is adhered to) the ruin of our cause.

“The jealousies of a standing army, and the evils to be apprehended from one, are remote, and, in my judgment, situated and circumstanced as we are, not at all to be dreaded: but the consequence of wanting one, according to my ideas formed from the present view of things, is certain and inevitable ruin. For, if I was called upon to declare upon oath, whether the militia have been most serviceable or hurtful upon the whole, I should subscribe to the latter. I do not mean by this however, to arraign the conduct of congress: in so doing, I should equally condemn my own measures, if I did not my judgment: but experience, which is the best criterion to work by, so fully, clearly and decisively reprobates the practice of trusting to militia, that no man who regards order, regularity and economy, or who has any regard to his own honour, character, or peace of mind, will risque them upon this issue.

“An army formed of good officers, moves like clock-work: but there is no situation on earth less enviable nor more distressing than that person's who is at the head of troops who are regardless of order and discipline, and who are unprovided with almost every necessary. In a word, the difficulties which have for ever surrounded me since I have been in the service, and kept my mind constantly upon the stretch,—the wounds which my feelings (as an officer) have received by a thousand things which have happened contrary to my expectation and wishes, \*\*\*—added to a consciousness of my inability to govern an army composed of such discordant parts, and under such a variety of intricate and perplexing circumstances,—induce not only a belief, but a thorough conviction in my mind, that it will be impossible (unless there is a thorough change in our military

system) for me to conduct matters in such a manner as to give satisfaction to the public, which is all the recompense I aim at, or ever wished for.

“Before I conclude, I must apologize for the liberties taken in this letter, and for the blots and scratchings therein, not having time to give it more correctly. With truth I can add, that, with every sentiment of respect and esteem, I am yours and the congress’

most obedient, &c.

G. W.”

---

LETTER FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON, TO THE COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS, ON A VISIT TO THE CAMP.

*Camp at the Clove, July 19, 1777.*

Gentlemen,

“The little notice I had of your coming to the army, and the shortness of your stay in camp, will more than probably occasion the omission of many matters, which of right ought to be laid before you; and the interruption which my thoughts constantly meet by a variety of occurrences, must apologize for the rude and indigested manner in which they are offered.

“The completion of the continental regiments is a matter of such infinite importance, that I think no means should be left unessayed to accomplish it. Draughting, where the powers of government are adequate, would be the speediest and most effectual; but if it should be thought unadvisable to attempt this mode,—next to it I would recommend that the business of recruiting should be taken entirely out of the hands of the officers of the army, and that each state should appoint some person of known activity (one for instance, who has been a good under-sheriff) in each county or township, not only to recruit, but to apprehend deserters: these persons to be liberally rewarded for each recruit, and deserter whom they shall deliver, at stated periods and places, to officers appointed to receive, discipline, and

march them to the army ; none of these recruiters to have the smallest power to act out of their own districts, but to be absolutely fixed to them.

“ A mode of this kind would, in my humble opinion, be less burthensome to the public than the present ; prevent the idle habits which recruiting officers contract, not only injurious to themselves, but to others ; the most effectual means which can be devised for the recovery of deserters ; the surest way of keeping your regiments of equal strength, and of making the duty more equal in the detail of it : in a word, many valuable advantages would result from it, whilst I can suggest but one reason against it ; and that, (fully satisfied I am) when weighed in the scale of interest, will not operate ; I mean, the keeping so many officers in the camp, who might be spared from the duties of the field till the regiments are stronger than at present. The sixteen additional regiments labour under such disadvantages in some states, as to render the interposition of congress, in some shape or other, indispensably necessary.

“ With respect to food, considering we are in such an extensive and abundant country, no army was ever worse supplied than ours, with many essential articles of it. Our soldiers, the greatest part of last campaign and the whole of this, have scarcely tasted any kind of vegetables, had but little salt ; and vinegar, which would have been a tolerable substitute for vegetables, they have been in a great measure strangers to. Neither have they been provided with proper drink ; beer or cider seldom comes within the verge of the camp, and rum in much too small quantities. Thus, to devouring large quantities of animal food, untempered by vegetables or vinegar, or by any kind of drink but water, and eating indifferent bread, (but for this, a remedy is provided) are to be ascribed the many putrid diseases incident to the army, and the lamentable mortality that attended us last campaign. If these evils can be remedied, the expense and trouble ought not to be obstacles. Though some kinds of vegetables are not to be had, others are,

which, together with sour crout and vinegar, might easily be had, if proper persons, acquainted with the business were employed therein.

“Soap is another article in great demand; the continental allowance is too small: and, dear as every necessary of life is now got, a soldier’s pay will not enable him to purchase; by which means, his consequent dirtiness adds not a little to the diseases of the army.

“I have no reason to accuse the clothier general of inattention to his department; and therefore, as his supplies are incompetent to the wants of the army, I am to suppose his resources are unequal. Ought not each state then to be called upon to draw such supplies from the country manufactories, as can be afforded? particularly of shoes, stockings, shirts, and blankets, articles indispensably necessary, and of which scarce too many can be provided: in the mean while every provision to be making, for clothing the troops uniformly and warm in the winter. It is a maxim that needs no elucidation, that nothing can be of more importance in an army, than the clothing and feeding it well. On these the health, comfort, and spirits of the soldiers essentially depend; and it is a melancholy fact, that the American army are miserably defective in both these respects. The distress most of them are in for want of clothing, is painful to humanity, dispiriting to themselves, and discouraging to every officer. It makes every pretension to the preservation of cleanliness impossible, exposes them to a variety of disorders, and abates or destroys that military pride without which nothing can be expected from any army.

“The consequence of giving rank indiscriminately is much to be dreaded; great dissatisfaction has already arisen on account of bestowing this on officers in the civil departments of the army, on the inferior staff, waggon masters, &c. who, by custom, propriety, and every other motive, are excluded from it in all well regulated armies. The too great liberality practised in this respect, will destroy the pride of rank where it ought to

exist, and will not only render it cheap, but contemptible. It is the policy of all armies to make it valued and respected, as a stimulus to emulation, and an incitement to bold and gallant undertakings : it must be very unadvisably, therefore, in our infant state of war, to adopt novel customs to bring it into discredit ; which must and will be the consequence of making it too common, besides the disgust it creates in others.

“An auditor of accounts, to be constantly with the army, is absolutely requisite. It is absolutely impossible for me, crowded as I am with other business, to examine and adjust the numerous complex accounts of the army with that correctness the public have a right to expect, before warrants pass for payment ; and, without doing it, great impositions may follow. The provision for making regimental paymasters regulate all regimental accounts, is altogether incompetent to the end proposed from it : for these men being appointed generally agreeable to the recommendation of the field officers of the regiments they belong to ; associating constantly with the officers of their corps, and in a great measure under their controul ; cannot be considered as sufficiently uninfluenced ; nor are auditors at a distance from the army of much use, as it would require a delay not admissible, to send accounts to them to audit before they were passed and paid in consequence of warrants from the commander in chief of the army.

“A good geographer, to survey the roads and take sketches of the country where the army is to act, would be extremely useful, and might be attended with exceeding valuable consequences. He might with propriety have the chief direction of the guides, and must have a head, to procure, govern, and pay them. If such a person should be approved of, I would beg leave to recommend Mr. Robert Erskine, who is thoroughly skilled in this business, has already assisted us in making maps of the country, and has (as I am informed) uniformly supported the character of a fast friend to America.



“A small travelling press, to follow head quarters, would be productive of many eminent advantages. It would enable us to give speedy and exact information of any military transactions that take place, with proper comments upon them, and thereby frustrate the pernicious tendency of falsehood and misrepresentation, which, in my opinion, of whatever complexion they may be, are, in the main, detrimental to our cause. If the people had a channel of intelligence, that, from its usual authenticity, they could look up to with confidence, they might often be preserved from that despondency which they are apt to fall into, from the exaggerated pictures our enemies and their emissaries among us commonly draw of any misfortunes we meet with—and from that diffidence of truths favourable to us, which they must naturally feel from the frequent deception they are exposed to, by the extravagant colourings our friends often give of our successes. It would also be very useful to despatch business in camp, being the most expeditious means of taking copies of orders or other matters that require to be dispersed, and would save a good deal in returns and other papers we are often obliged to get printed in Philadelphia. An ingenious man to accompany this press, and be employed wholly in writing for it, might render it singularly beneficial.

“I am exceedingly embarrassed how to dispose of the French officers in general, but more especially the artillery officers, who are come out under the sanction of a compact. I can think of no other way than that of forming a separate corps of them, and draughting men from the whole line to compose that corps: but even this will be attended with many disagreeable effects: among others, this is not the least, that officers will think themselves much injured to have the men they have had the trouble of raising taken from them, and given to others. There is something in this which is discouraging, and breaks the spirit of a good officer, who prides himself in having a full and complete corps.

"A doubt has arisen, whether a person who belongs to any of the United States of America, and who owed allegiance to any of the said states—that went to the enemy some time past, and since that time has been lurking about any of the fortifications, or about any of the encampments of the armies of the United States, plundering and driving off cattle to the enemy, recruiting for them, or committing any other atrocious crime, or who is appointed an officer in the enemy's army—can be tried by a general court martial, under the resolution of congress of the 21st of August, 1776, and punished as a spy.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

G. W."

---

*Correspondence between general Washington and general Gage, respecting the bad treatment of prisoners.*

LETTER FROM HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON, TO GENERAL GAGE.

*Head quarters, Cambridge, August 11, 1775.*

"SIR,

"I understand that the officers, engaged in the cause of liberty and their country, who, by the fortune of war, have fallen into your hands, have been thrown indiscriminately into a common gaol, appropriated for felons—that no consideration has been made for those of the most respectable rank, when languishing with wounds and sickness—that some of them have been amputated in this unworthy situation.

"Let your opinion, sir, of the principle which actuates them, be what it may, they suppose they act from the noblest of all principles, a love of freedom and their country. But political opinions, I conceive, are foreign to this point. The obligations arising from the right of humanity and claims of rank, are universally binding and extensive, except in case of retaliation. These, I

should have hoped, would have dictated a more tender treatment of those individuals whom chance or war had put in your power. Nor can I forbear suggesting its fatal tendency to widen that unhappy breach, which you, and those ministers under whom you act, have repeatedly declared you wish to see for ever closed.

"My duty now makes it necessary to apprize you, that for the future I shall regulate my conduct towards those gentlemen of your army, who are, or may be in our possession, exactly by the rule you may observe towards those of ours who may be in your custody.

"If severity and hardship mark the line of your conduct, (painful as it may be to me) your prisoners will feel its effects; but if kindness and humanity are shown to ours, I shall, with pleasure, consider those in our hands only as unfortunate, and they shall receive from me that treatment to which the unfortunate are ever entitled.

"I beg to be favoured with an answer as soon as possible, and am, sir,

Your very humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON."

*His Excellency General Gage.*

---

ANSWER.

*Boston, August 13, 1773.*

"SIR,

"To the glory of civilized nations, humanity and war have been compatible; and compassion to the subdued is become almost a general system.

"Britons, ever preeminent in mercy, have outgone common examples, and overlooked the criminal in the captive. Upon these principles your prisoners, whose lives, by the laws of the land, are destined to the cord, have hitherto been treated with care and kindness, and more comfortably lodged, than the king's troops, in the

hospitals ; indiscriminately, it is true, for I acknowledge no rank that is not derived from the king.

“ My intelligence from your army would justify severe recrimination. I understand there are some of the king’s faithful subjects, taken some time since by the rebels, labouring like negro slaves, to gain their daily subsistence, or reduced to the wretched alternative, to perish by famine, or take up arms against their king and country. Those, who have made the treatment of the prisoners in my hands, or of your other friends in Boston, a pretence for such measures, found barbarity upon falsehood.

“ I would willingly hope, sir, that the sentiments of liberality which I have always believed you to possess, will be exerted to correct their misdoings. Be temperate in political disquisitions ; give free operation to truth, and punish those who deceive and misrepresent ; and not only the effects, but the causes of this unhappy conflict will soon be removed.

“ Should those, under whose usurped authority you act, controul such a disposition, and dare to call severity retaliation, to God, who knows all hearts, be the appeal for the dreadful consequences. I trust, that British soldiers, asserting the rights of the state, the laws of the land, the being of the constitution, will meet all events with becoming fortitude. They will court victory with the spirit their cause inspires, and from the same motive, will find the patience of martyrs under misfortunes.

“ Till I read your insinuations in regard to ministers, I conceived that I had acted under the king ; whose wishes, it is true, as well as those of his ministers, and of every honest man, have been to see this unhappy breach for ever closed ; but unfortunately for both countries, those who have long since projected the present crisis, and influence the councils of America, have views very distant from accommodation. I am, sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS GAGE.”

*George Washington, Esq.*

REPLY.

*Head-Quarters, Cambridge,*

“SIR,

*August 19, 1775.*

“I addressed you on the 11th instant, in terms which gave the fairest scope for the exercise of that humanity and politeness, which were supposed to form a part of your character. I remonstrated with you on the unworthy treatment shewn to the officers and citizens of America, whom the fortune of war, chance, or a mistaken confidence, had thrown into your hands.

“Whether British or American mercy, fortitude and patience, are most preeminent,—whether our virtuous citizens, whom the hand of tyranny has forced into arms, to defend their wives, their children, and their property, or the mercenary instruments of lawless domination, avarice and revenge, best deserve the appellation of rebels, and the punishment of that cord, which your affected clemency has forborne to inflict—whether the authority under which I act, is usurped, or founded on the genuine principles of liberty, were altogether foreign to the subject. I purposely avoided all political disquisition; nor shall I now avail myself of those advantages, which the sacred cause of my country, of liberty and human nature, give me over you; much less shall I stoop to retort any invective. But the intelligence, you say you have received from our army, requires a reply. I have taken time, sir, to make a strict enquiry, and find that it has not the least foundation in truth. Not only your officers and soldiers have been treated with a tenderness due to fellow citizens and brethren, but even those execrable parricides, whose counsels and aid have deluged their country in blood, have been protected from the fury of a justly enraged people. Far from compelling or permitting their assistance, I am embarrassed with the numbers who crowd to our camp, animated with the purest principles of virtue and love of their country. You advise me to give free operation to truth; to punish misrepresentation and falsehood. If experience stamps value upon counsel,

yours must have a weight which few can claim. You best can tell how far the convulsion, which has brought such ruin on both countries, and shaken the mighty empire of Britain to its foundation, may be traced to these malignant causes.

“You affect, sir, to despise all rank, not derived from the same source with your own. I cannot conceive one more honourable, than that which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the purest source and original fountain of all power.—Far from making it a plea for cruelty, a mind of true magnanimity and enlarged ideas, would comprehend and respect it.

“What may have been the ministerial views which have precipitated the present crisis, Lexington, Concord, and Charlestown, can best declare. May that God, to whom you then appealed, judge between America and you. Under his providence, those who influence the councils of America, and all the other inhabitants of the united colonies, at the hazard of their lives, are determined to hand down to posterity, those just and invaluable privileges which they received from their ancestors.

“I shall now, sir, close my correspondence with you, perhaps for ever. If your officers, our prisoners, receive a treatment from me, different from what I wished to shew them, they and you will remember the occasion of it.

“I am, sir,

“Your very humble servant,

“G. WASHINGTON.”

“General Gage.”

“The preceding letters will ever convey to the world, a sufficient testimony of the attention and care, which, at all times, general Washington extended to the soldiers under his command. The whole of his official letters are uniformly characterized with those tender and sympathetic pictures, which the appearance of real want in

others impress on a lively and feeling mind, and which was the best calculated to rouse in the minds of congress, a sense of the sufferings of those who were sacrificing their ease, and risking their lives to establish the independence of their country. Observe the extreme modesty which he assumes, when he requests for himself, even an aid de camp, which the multiplicity of his cares rendered essential,—contrast it with that freedom with which he delivers his opinion on other subjects which regard the comfort of his fellow soldiers only—and with the manly language in which he addresses general Gage, for his ill treatment of those whom the misfortune of war placed in his power.—Then we behold the citizen—the general.

To those ungrateful few, who, stimulated by malice, have heretofore endeavoured to sully his honour and military reputation, and to impress upon the public mind, the ungenerous idea, that he was instrumental to the shedding of innocent blood, and inflicting wanton cruelty upon the prisoners of the enemy, we recommend a perusal of his letters to congress upon that subject: there they will find him combating the idea with the language of reason, and censuring the inhuman practice. The historians of the American war have uniformly represented the case of major Andre as an example of inhuman murder on the part of America. On this occasion, general Washington sacrificed his own feelings to the “necessities of inexorable justice.” The sentence was pronounced with much hesitation, and, at its execution, he was seen to shed tears.—Nor is it necessary for us to remind them of his fortitude to withstand the threats, or virtue to scorn the bribes of the emissaries of the British cabinet; for one uniform principle of prudence and wisdom seems to have regulated every transaction of his life.

When general Washington received the joyful intelligence of peace, he expressed himself to the army who had accompanied him through the dangers, toils and difficulties of this glorious struggle, in the following address:

ORDERS ISSUED BY GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE  
ARMY.*Head-Quarters, April 18, 1783.*

The Commander in Chief orders the cessation of hostilities between the United States of America and the King of Great-Britain, to be publicly proclaimed to-morrow, at twelve o'clock, at the new building; and that the proclamation, which will be communicated herewith, be read to-morrow evening at the head of every regiment and corps of the army; after which the chaplains, with the several brigades, will render thanks to the Almighty God for all his mercies, particularly for his over-ruling the wrath of man to his own glory, and causing the rage of war to cease among the nations.

“Although the proclamation before alluded to extends only to the prohibition of hostilities, and not to the announcement of a general peace, yet it must afford the most rational and sincere satisfaction to every benevolent mind, as it puts a period to a long and doubtful contest, stops the effusion of human blood, opens the prospect to a more splendid scene, and, like another morning star, promises the approach of brighter day than hath hitherto illuminated the western hemisphere. On such a happy day, which is the harbinger of peace, a day which completes the eighth year of the war, it would be ingratitude not to rejoice; it would be insensibility not to participate in the general felicity.

“The Commander in Chief, far from endeavouring to stifle the feelings of joy in his own bosom, offers his most cordial congratulations on the occasion to all the officers of every denomination; to all the troops of the United States in general; and, in particular, to those gallant and persevering men who had resolved to defend the rights of their invaded country, so long as the war should continue. For these are the men who ought to be considered as the pride and boast of the American army; and who, crowned with well earned laurels, may soon withdraw from the field of glory to the more tranquil



walks of civil life. While the Commander in Chief collects the almost infinite variety of scenes through which we have passed, with a mixture of pleasure, astonishment, and gratitude; while he contemplates the prospects before us with rapture, he cannot help wishing that all the brave men, of whatever condition they may be, who have shared the toils and dangers of effecting this glorious revolution; of rescuing millions from the hand of oppression, and of laying the foundation of a great empire, might be impressed with a proper idea of the dignified part they have been called to act, under the smiles of Providence, on the stage of human affairs; for happy, thrice happy! shall they be pronounced hereafter, who have contributed any thing, who have performed the meanest office in erecting this stupendous FABRIC OF FREEDOM AND EMPIRE on the broad basis of independency; who have assisted in protecting the rights of human nature, and establishing an asylum for the poor and oppressed of all nations and religions.—The glorious task for which we at first flew to arms being accomplished—the liberties of our country being fully acknowledged and firmly secured by the smiles of Heaven on the purity of our cause, and the honest exertions of a feeble people, determined to be free, against a powerful nation disposed to oppress them; and the character, of those who have persevered through every extremity of hardship, suffering, and danger, being immortalized by the illustrious appellation of the *patriot army*, nothing now remains but for the actors of this mighty scene to preserve a perfect unvarying consistency of character through the very last act, to close the drama with applause; and to retire from the military theatre with the same approbation of angels and men which have crowned all their former virtuous actions. For this purpose, no disorder or licentiousness must be tolerated.—Every considerate and well disposed soldier must remember it will be absolutely necessary to wait with patience until peace shall be declared, or congress shall be enabled to take proper measures for the security of the public stores,

&c. As soon as these arrangements shall be made, the general is confident there will be no delay in discharging, with every mark of distinction and honour, all the men enlisted for the war, who will then have faithfully performed their engagements with the public. The general has already interested himself in their behalf, and he thinks he need not repeat the assurances of his disposition to be useful to them on the present and every other proper occasion. In the mean time, he is determined that no military neglects or excesses shall go unpunished while he retains the command of the army.

The Adjutant-General will have such working parties detached, to assist in making the preparations for a general rejoicing, as the chief Engineer with the army shall call for; and the Quarter-Master-General will, without delay, procure such a number of discharges to be printed as will be sufficient for all the men enlisted for the war—he will please to apply to head-quarters for the form.—An extra ration of liquor to be issued to every man to-morrow, to drink, “Perpetual Peace and Happiness to the United States of America.”

---

The following resolutions were passed by congress, on the 7th of August, 1783, viz.

BY THE UNITED STATES, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

“*Resolved unanimously*, Ten States being present,

“That an Equestrian Statue of General Washington be erected at the place where the residence of Congress shall be established:

“*Resolved*, That the statue be of bronze, the General to be represented in a Roman dress, holding a truncheon in his right hand, and his head encircled in a laurel wreath: the statue to be supported by a marble pedestal, on which are to be represented, in basso relievo, the following principal events of the war, in which General Washington commanded in person, viz.—The Evacuation of Boston—The Capture of the Hessians at

Trenton—The Battle of Princeton—The action of Monmouth—and the surrender of York. On the upper part of the front of the pedestal to be engraved as follows: ‘The United States in Congress assembled, ordered this statue to be erected in the year of our Lord 1783, in the honour of George Washington, the illustrious commander in chief of the armies of the United States of America, during the war, which vindicated and secured their liberty, sovereignty, and independence.’

“*Resolved*, That a statue conformable to the above plan, be executed by the best artist in Europe, under the superintendence of the Minister of the United States at the court of Versailles, and that money to defray the expense of the same be furnished from the Treasury of the United States.

“*Resolved*, That the Secretary of Congress transmit to the Minister of the United States at the court of Versailles, the best resemblance of General Washington that can be procured, for the purpose of having the above statue erected, together with the fittest description of the events which are to be the subject of the basso relievo.”

On the 26th of August, 1783, general Washington, at the request of congress, proceeded to Princeton, where the congress was then sitting, and being introduced by two members, the president addressed him as follows: viz.

“Sir,

“Congress feel particular pleasure in seeing your excellency, and congratulating you on the success of a war in which you have acted so conspicuous a part:

“It has been the singular happiness of the United States, that, during a war so long, so dangerous, and so important, Providence has been graciously pleased to preserve the life of a general, who has merited and possessed the uninterrupted confidence and affection of his fellow citizens. In other nations, many have performed

services for which they have deserved and received the thanks of the public; but to you, sir, peculiar praise is due: your services have been essential in acquiring and establishing the freedom and independence of your country; they deserve the grateful acknowledgments of a free and independent nation: those acknowledgments congress have the satisfaction of expressing to your excellency.

“Hostilities have now ceased, but your country still needs your services; she wishes to avail herself of your talents in forming the arrangements which will be necessary for her in time of peace; for this reason, your attendance at congress has been requested. A committee is appointed to confer with your excellency, and to receive your assistance in preparing and adjusting plans relative to those important objects.”

To which his excellency made the following reply:

“Mr. President,

“I am too sensible of the honourable reception I have now experienced, not to be penetrated with the deepest feelings of gratitude.

“Notwithstanding congress appear to estimate the value of my life beyond any services I have been able to render the United States, yet I must be permitted to consider the wisdom and unanimity of our national councils, the firmness of our citizens, and the patience and bravery of our troops, which have produced so happy a termination of the war, as the most conspicuous effect of the Divine interposition, and the surest presage of our future happiness.

“Highly gratified by the favourable sentiments which congress are pleased to express of my past conduct, and amply rewarded by the confidence and affection of my fellow citizens, I cannot hesitate to contribute my best endeavours towards the establishment of the national security, in whatever manner the sovereign power may think proper to direct, until the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace, or the final evacuation of our country by the British forces; after either of which events,

I shall ask permission to retire to the peaceful shade of private life.

"Perhaps, sir, no occasion may offer more suitable than the present, to express my humble thanks to God, and my grateful acknowledgments to my country, for the great and uniform support I have received in every vicissitude of fortune, and for the many distinguished honours which congress have been pleased to confer upon me in the course of the war."

After the final conclusion of the peace in 1783, a proclamation was issued by congress, October 18th, directing the discharge of the army; whereupon general Washington, before he resigned his important charge, delivered the following elegant and pathetic farewell address, to the officers and soldiers, under his command, viz.

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ORDERS, TO THE  
ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

*Rocky-Hill, near Princeton, November 2, 1783.*

The United States in congress assembled, after giving the most honourable testimony to the federal armies, and presenting them with the thanks of their country, for their long, eminent, and faithful services—having thought proper, by their proclamation, bearing date the 18th of October last, to discharge such part of the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit the officers on furlough to retire from service, from and after to-morrow, which proclamation having been communicated in the public papers for the information and government of all concerned; it only remains for the commander in chief to address himself once more, and that for the last time, to the armies of the United States (however widely dispersed the individuals who composed them may be) and bid them an affectionate—a long farewell.

But before the commander in chief takes his final leave of those he holds most dear, he wishes to indulge

himself a few moments in calling to mind a slight review of the past—he will then take the liberty of exploring, with his military friends, their future prospects; of advising the general line of conduct which, in his opinion, ought to be pursued; and he will conclude the address, by expressing the obligations he feels himself under for the spirited and able assistance he has experienced from them, in the performance of an arduous office.

A contemplation of the complete attainment, at a period earlier than could have been expected, of the object for which we contended, against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The singular interpositions of Providence, in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving; while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

It is not the meaning, nor within the compass of this address, to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our service, or to describe the distresses, which, in several instances, have resulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedness, combined with the rigours of an inclement season, nor is it necessary to dwell on the dark side of our past affairs. Every American officer and soldier must now console himself for any unpleasant circumstances which may have occurred by the recollection of the uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act no inglorious part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness; events which have seldom, if ever before, taken place on the stage of human action, nor can they probably ever happen again. For, who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials? Who that was not a witness, could imagine, that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, and that men who came from different parts of

the continent, strongly disposed, by the habits of education, to despise and quarrel with each other, would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers? or who that was not on the spot, can trace the steps, by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils?

It is universally acknowledged that the enlarged prospects of happiness, opened by the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, almost exceed the power of description: and shall not the brave men who have contributed so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained? In such a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labours? In such a country, so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce and the cultivation of the soil will unfold to industry the certain road to competence. To those hardy soldiers, who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment; and the extensive and fertile regions of the west will yield a most happy asylum to those, who fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking for personal independence. Nor is it possible to conceive that any one of the United States will prefer a national bankruptcy, and a dissolution of the union, to a compliance with the requisitions of congress and the payment of its just debts—so that the officers and soldiers may expect considerable assistance, in recommencing their civil occupations, from the sums due to them from the public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

In order to effect this desirable purpose, and to remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the minds of any of the good people of the states, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops, that, with strong attachment to the union, they should carry with them into civil society the most conciliating dispositions; and that they should prove themselves not less virtuous and useful as citizens, than they have been persevering

and victorious as soldiers. What though there should be some envious individuals, who are unwilling to pay the debt, the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due to merit, yet let such unworthy treatment produce no invective, or any instance of intemperate conduct—let it be remembered, that the unbiassed voice of the free citizens of the United States has promised the just reward, and given the merited applause; let it be known and remembered, that the reputation of the federal armies is established beyond the reach of malevolence, and let a consciousness of their achievements and fame still incite the men who composed them, to honourable actions, under the persuasion, that the virtues of economy, prudence, and industry, will not be less amiable in civil life, than the more splendid qualities of valour, perseverance and enterprize, were in the field. Every one may rest assured, that much, very much, of the future happiness of the officers and men, will depend upon the wise and manly conduct which shall be adopted by them, when they are mingled with the great body of the community. And, although the general has so frequently given it as his opinion, in the most public and explicit manner, that unless the principles of the federal government were properly supported, and the powers of the union increased, the honour, dignity, and justice of the nation would be lost for ever; yet he cannot help repeating on this occasion so interesting a sentiment, and leaving it as his last injunction to every officer and soldier, who may view the subject in the same serious point of light, to add his best endeavours, to those of his worthy fellow citizens, towards effecting these great and valuable purposes, on which our very existence as a nation so materially depends.

The commander in chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the soldier to change his military character into that of the citizen, but that steady and decent tenor of behaviour, which has generally distinguished, not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and separate armies, through the



course of the war. From their good sense and prudence he anticipates the happiest consequences—and while he congratulates them on the glorious occasion which renders their services in the field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strong obligations he feels himself under, for the assistance he has received from every class, and in every instance. He presents his thanks in the most serious and affectionate manner to the general officers, as well for their counsel on many interesting occasions, as for their ardour in promoting the success of the plans he had adopted; to the commandants of regiments and corps, and to the other officers, for their great zeal and attention in carrying his orders promptly into execution; to the staff, for their alacrity and exactness in performing the duties of their several departments; and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, for their extraordinary patience in suffering as well as their invincible fortitude in action; to the various branches of the army, the general takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment and friendship. He wishes more than bare professions were in his power, that he was really able to be useful to them all in future life. He flatters himself, however, they will do him the justice to believe, that whatever could with propriety be attempted by him, has been done. And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a short time, of the military character—and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command—he can only again offer, in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend those, who, under the Divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others! With these wishes, and this benediction, the commander in chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn—and the military scene to him will be closed for ever.

E. HAND, *Adj. Gen.*

To the preceding address the officers of the part of the army remaining on the banks of the Hudson, returned a suitable answer; they thanked the commander in chief for the communication of his affectionate assurances of his inviolable attachment and friendship: they assured his excellency, that, although as yet his endeavours to ensure to the armies the just reward of their services, had failed of success, they were convinced that it had arisen from causes which it was not in his power to controul, and should the contemplated measure never be attained, that their patriotism should still remain unshaken: they were happy in the opportunity of congratulating his excellency on the certain conclusion of the *definitive treaty of peace*, assuring him that, relieved at last from long suspense, their warmest wish was to return to the bosom of their country, to resume the character of citizens; and that it should be their highest ambition to become useful ones. To his excellency they were convinced that this great event must be peculiarly pleasing; because, while at the head of the armies, urged by patriotic virtues and magnanimity, he persevered, under the pressure of every possible difficulty and discouragement, in the pursuit of the great objects of the war—the freedom and safety of his country;—his heart panted for the tranquil enjoyments of peace. They concluded with sincere prayers to God, long to bestow happiness to their commander, and that when he quits the stage of human life, he may receive from the UNERRING JUDGE, the rewards of valour exerted to save the oppressed, of patriotism and disinterested virtue.

On the 25th of November, 1783, New-York was evacuated by the British army; on the same day the American troops marched in, and took possession of the city; after which general Washington and the governor made their public entry. The arrangement and the whole conduct of the march, and the tranquillity which succeeded it through the day and night, was admirable! and the grateful citizens, feeling the most affectionate impres-

sions from the elegant and efficient disposition which prevailed through the whole event, on their returning from exile, addressed his excellency the commander in chief in behalf of themselves and their suffering brethren, looking up to him with unusual joy: they welcomed him to the city, long torn from them by the hand of oppression, but which, by his wisdom, under the guidance of Providence, had again been rendered the seat of peace and freedom; they assured him that they should preserve, to the last, their gratitude for his services and veneration for his character, and required him "to accept of their sincere and earnest wishes, that he may long enjoy that calm domestic felicity, which he had so generously sacrificed; that the cries of injured liberty may never more interrupt his repose; and that his happiness may be equal to his virtues."

Previous to general Washington's leaving New-York, on the 6th of December, the principal officers of the army, then in the city, assembled at Frances' tavern, to take a final leave of their illustrious and much loved commander. The passions of human nature were never more tenderly agitated than in this interesting scene. His excellency having filled a glass of wine, thus addressed his brave fellow soldiers:

*"With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you: I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honourable."*

These words produced extreme sensibility on both sides: they were answered by warm expressions, and fervent wishes, from the gentlemen of the army, whose truly pathetic feelings it is not in our power to convey to the reader. Soon after this scene was closed, the governor, the council and citizens of the first distinction waited on the general, and in terms the most affectionate, took their leave—the corps of light infantry was drawn up in a line, and the commander in chief passed through them on his way to White-Hall, where he embarked in his barge for Powles Hook, from whence he

proceeded to Philadelphia, where he made a short stay. Here he delivered to the comptroller of the public treasury an account of the expenditure of all the public money which he had received during the war; by which it appeared that the whole sum which had gone through his hands, only amounted to fourteen thousand four hundred and seventy-nine pounds, eighteen shillings and nine pence sterling, about sixty-four thousand three hundred and fifty dollars, nearly one hundred and fifty dollars per week.

From Philadelphia he proceeded to Annapolis, where the congress was then sitting, and having obtained leave, he terminated his military career, and resigned his commission on the 23d of December: upon this occasion he delivered a short and pathetic address. [For address and answer, see page 337 and 338, of this volume.]

---

With these becoming sentiments, general Washington retired from the toils of war to enjoy in private the rural pleasures of Mount Vernon, carrying with him the thanks and blessings of a grateful people, emulating the example of the virtuous Roman general,\* who, victorious, left the tented field, covered with honour, and withdrew from public life.

No person, who had not the advantage of being present when he received the intelligence of peace, and who did not accompany him to his domestic retirement, can describe the relief which that joyful event brought to his labouring mind, or the supreme satisfaction with which he withdrew to private life. From his triumphal entry into New-York, upon the evacuation of that city by the British army, to his arrival at Mount Vernon, after the resignation of his commission to congress, festive crowds impeded his passage through all the populous towns: the devotion of a whole people pursued him, with prayers to Heaven for blessings on his head, while their gratitude sought the most expressive lan-

\* Cincinnatus.

guage of manifesting itself to him, as their common father and benefactor. When he became a private citizen, he had the unusual felicity to find that his native state was among the most zealous in doing justice to his merits; and that stronger demonstrations of affectionate esteem (if possible) were given by the citizens of his neighbourhood, than by any other description of men on the continent. As he always refused to accept of any pecuniary compensation for his public services, or provision for the augmented expenses which he must have incurred in consequence of his public employment, no salary was ever annexed by congress to his important command, and he only drew weekly for the expenses of his public table and other necessary demands, although proposals have been made in the most delicate manner, particularly by the states of Virginia and Pennsylvania. His conduct in this particular is noble and magnanimous, and exhibits to the world an undeniable evidence of self disinterestedness, of the purity of his motives, and integrity of his heart. His answer to the governor of Virginia, declining the acceptance of a present from that state, is so characteristic of his whole public conduct, that we are induced to give it in his own words, and we are convinced it will prove acceptable to his admirers.

---

*Letter from his excellency general Washington, to the governor of Virginia, declining the acceptance of fifty shares in the companies for opening the navigation of James and Potomac rivers, which had been vested in him by act of the legislature of that commonwealth, as a small acknowledgment of his merits and services.*

“Your excellency having been pleased to transmit to me a copy of an act appropriating to my benefit, certain shares in the companies for opening the navigation of James and Potomac rivers, I take the liberty of return-

ing to the assembly, through your hands, the profound and grateful acknowledgments, inspired by so signal a mark of their beneficent intentions towards me. I beg you, sir, to assure them, that I am filled on this occasion with every sentiment which can flow from a heart, warm with love for my country—sensible to every token of its approbation and affection, and solicitous to testify, in every instance, a respectful submission to its wishes. With these sentiments in my bosom, I need not dwell on the anxiety I feel, in being obliged in this instance to decline a favour, which is rendered no less flattering by the manner in which it is conveyed, than it is affectionate in itself. In explaining this obligation, I pass over a comparison of my endeavours in the public service, with the many honourable testimonies of approbation which have already so far over rated and over paid them—reciting one consideration only, which supercedes the necessity of recurring to every other. When I was first called to the station with which I was honoured during the late conflict for our liberties; to the diffidence which I had so many reasons to feel in accepting it, I thought it my duty to join *a firm resolution to shut my hand against every pecuniary recompense.* To this resolution I have inviolably adhered; and from this resolution (if I had the inclination) I do not consider myself at liberty to depart. Whilst I repeat, therefore, my fervent acknowledgments to the legislature for their very kind sentiments and intentions in my favour, and at the same time beg them to be persuaded, that a remembrance of this singular proof of goodness towards me, will never cease to cherish returns of the warmest affection and gratitude; I must pray that their act, so far as it has for its object my personal emolument, may not have its effect. But if it should please the general assembly to permit me to turn the destination of the fund vested in me, from my private emolument to objects of a public nature, it will be my study, in selecting these, to prove the sincerity of my gratitude, by preferring such as may appear most subservi-

ent to the enlightened and patriotic views of the legislature.

I am, &c.

GEORGE WASHINGTON."

Upon this request, the legislature of Virginia repealed so much of the act referred to as related to the vesting the above mentioned shares in general Washington and heirs, and enacted that the shares and profits accruing therefrom, should stand appropriated to such objects of a public nature as his excellency should direct and appoint. Some time afterwards, general Washington applied these shares of the canal company to the erection and establishment of two seminaries of learning in Virginia, which were accomplished under his immediate direction.

Although the enlarged mind of general Washington felt superior to such considerations, and nobly refused any recompense for himself, yet he eloquently, though unsuccessfully, pleaded the cause of his fellow soldiers, and other public creditors. He considered himself as pledged to the army that their country would do them ample justice, in rewarding them for their glorious services, exercised in its defence, and finally crowned by the complete establishment of its liberty and independence. He could foresee the evils which were to follow, if a regular and efficient revenue system was not pursued:—to effect these purposes, and to inculcate the necessity of union, justice, subordination, and of such principles and practices as the new situation of his country required, he published his parting advice to his countrymen, in the following eloquent circular letter, addressed to the governors of the individual states.

## A CIRCULAR LETTER

*From his Excellency George Washington, Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of America, to the Governors of the several States.*

SIR,

The great object for which I had the honour to hold an appointment in the service of my country, being accomplished, I am now preparing to resign it into the hands of congress, and return to that domestic retirement, which, it is well known, I left with the greatest reluctance; a retirement for which I have never ceased to sigh through a long and painful absence, in which (remote from the noise and trouble of the world) I meditate to pass the remainder of life in a state of undisturbed repose: but, before I carry this resolution into effect, I think it a duty incumbent upon me to make this my last official communication, to congratulate you on the glorious events which Heaven has been pleased to produce in our favour, to offer my sentiments respecting some important subjects, which appear to me to be intimately connected with the tranquillity of the United States, to take my leave of your Excellency as a public character, and to give my final blessing to that country in whose service I have spent the prime of my life; for whose sake I have consumed so many anxious days and watchful nights: and whose happiness, being extremely dear to me, will always constitute no inconsiderable part of my own.

Impressed with the liveliest sensibility on this pleasing occasion, I will claim the indulgence of dilating the more copiously on the subjects of our mutual felicitation. When we consider the magnitude of the prize we contended for, the doubtful nature of the contest, and the favourable manner in which it has terminated; we shall find the greatest possible reason for gratitude and rejoicing: this is a theme that will afford infinite delight to every benevolent and liberal mind, whether the event in contemplation be considered as a source of present en-



joyment, or the parent of future happiness; and we shall have equal occasion to felicitate ourselves on the lot which Providence has assigned us, whether we view it in a natural, a political, or moral point of view.

The citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world, and abounding with all the necessities and conveniences of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and independency; they are from this period to be considered as the actors on a most conspicuous theatre, which seems to be peculiarly designed by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity: here they are not only surrounded with every thing which can contribute to the completion of private and domestic enjoyment, but Heaven has crowned all its other blessings, by giving a fairer opportunity for political happiness than any other nation has ever been favoured with. Nothing can illustrate these observations more forcibly than the recollection of the happy conjuncture of times and circumstances, under which our Republic assumed its rank among the nations. The foundation of our empire was not laid in a gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at an epocha when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period: the researches of the human mind after social happiness have been carried to a great extent: the treasures of knowledge acquired by the labours of philosophers, sages and legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for use, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government: the free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and above all, the pure and benign light of revelation, have had a meliorating influence on mankind, and increased the blessings of society. At this auspicious period the United States came into existence

as a nation, and if her citizens should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own.

Such is our situation, and such are our prospects; but notwithstanding the cup of blessing is thus reached out to us—notwithstanding happiness is ours, if we have a disposition to seize the occasion, and make it our own: yet it appears to me, there is an option still left to the United States of America, whether they will be respectable and prosperous, or contemptible and miserable as a nation. This is the time of their political probation; this is the moment, when the eyes of the world are turned upon them; this is the time to establish or ruin their national character for ever; this is the favourable moment to give such a tone to the Federal Government, as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution; or this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the Union, annihilating the cement of the confederation, and exposing us to become the sport of European politics, which may play one state against another, to prevent their growing importance, and to serve their own interested purposes. For, according to the system of policy the states shall adopt at this moment, they will stand or fall; and, by their confirmation or lapse, it is yet to be decided, whether the revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse—a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved.

With this conviction of the importance of the present crisis, silence in me would be a crime. I will therefore speak to your excellency the language of freedom and of sincerity, without disguise. I am aware, however, those who differ from me in political sentiments, may perhaps remark I am stepping out of the proper line of my duty; and they may possibly ascribe to arrogance or ostentation, what I know is alone the result of the purest intentions; but the rectitude of my heart, which disdains such unworthy motives—the part I have hitherto acted in life—the determination I have formed of not taking any share in public business hereafter—the ardent desire I

feel and shall continue to manifest, of quietly enjoying in private life, after all the toils of war, the benefits of a wise and liberal government,—will, I flatter myself, sooner or later, convince my countrymen, that I could have no sinister views in delivering, with so little reserve, the opinions contained in this address.

There are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say to the existence of the United States, as an independent power.

1st. An indissoluble union of the states under one federal head.

2d. A sacred regard to public justice.

3d. The adoption of a proper peace establishment.

And,

4th. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and politics, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite, to the general prosperity, and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community.

These are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character must be supported. Liberty is the basis, and whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the structure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured country.

On the three first articles I will make a few observations, leaving the last to the good sense and serious consideration of those immediately concerned.

Under the first head, although it may not be necessary or proper for me, in this place, to enter into a particular disquisition of the principles of the union, and to take up the great question which has been frequently agitated, whether it be expedient and requisite for the states to delegate a larger proportion of power to congress, or not; yet it will be a part of my duty, and that

of every true patriot, to assert, without reserve, and to insist upon the following positions. That unless the states will suffer congress to exercise those prerogatives they are undoubtedly invested with by the constitution, every thing must very rapidly tend to anarchy and confusion.—That it is indispensable to the happiness of the individual states, that there should be lodged, somewhere a supreme power, to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated republic, without which the union cannot be of long duration.—That there must be a faithful and pointed compliance on the part of every state, with the late proposals and demands of congress, or the most fatal consequences will ensue.—That whatever measures have a tendency to dissolve the union, or contribute to violate or lessen the sovereign authority, ought to be considered as hostile to the liberty and independence of America, and the authors of them treated accordingly.—And lastly, that unless we can be enabled by the concurrence of the states to participate of the fruits of the revolution, and enjoy the essential benefits of civil society, under a form of government so free and uncorrupted, so happily guarded against the danger of oppression, as has been devised and adopted by the articles of confederation, it will be a subject of regret, that so much blood and treasure have been lavished for no purpose; that so many sufferings have been encountered without a compensation, and that so many sacrifices have been made in vain. Many other considerations might here be adduced to prove, that without an entire conformity to the spirit of the union, we cannot exist as an independent power. It will be sufficient for my purpose to mention one or two, which seem to me of the greatest importance. It is only in our united character, that we are known as an empire, that our independence is acknowledged, that our power can be regarded, or our credit supported among foreign nations. The treaties of the European powers with the United States of America, will have no validity on a dissolution of the union. We shall be left nearly in a state of nature; or we may find, by our own

unhappy experience, that there is a natural and necessary progression from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of tyranny; and that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty abused to licentiousness.

As to the second article, which respects the performance of public justice, congress have, in their late address to the United States, almost exhausted the subject; they have explained their ideas so fully, and have enforced the obligations the states are under to render complete justice to all the public creditors, with so much dignity and energy, that, in my opinion, no real friend to the honour and independency of America can hesitate a single moment respecting the propriety of complying with the just and honourable measures proposed. If their arguments do not produce conviction, I know of nothing that will have greater influence, especially when we recollect that the system referred to, being the result of the collected wisdom of the continent, must be esteemed, if not perfect, certainly the least objectionable of any that could be devised; and that, if it should not be carried into immediate execution, a national bankruptcy, with all its deplorable consequences, will take place, before any different plan can possibly be proposed or adopted. So pressing are the present circumstances, and such is the alternative now offered to the states.

The ability of the country to discharge the debts which have been incurred in its defence, is not to be doubted. An inclination, I flatter myself, will not be wanting; the path of our duty is plain before us; honesty will be found, on every experiment, to be the best and only true policy. Let us then, as a nation, be just; let us fulfil the public contracts which congress had undoubtedly a right to make for the purpose of carrying on the war, with the same good faith we suppose ourselves bound to perform our private engagements. In the mean time, let an attention to the cheerful performance of their proper business, as individuals, and as members of society, be earnestly inculcated on the citizens of America; then will they

strengthen the hands of government, and be happy under its protection. Every one will reap the fruit of his labours; every one will enjoy his own acquisitions, without molestation and without danger.

In this state of absolute freedom and perfect security, who will grudge to yield a very little of his property to support the common interests of society, and ensure the protection of government? Who does not remember the frequent declarations at the commencement of the war, that we should be completely satisfied, if, at the expense of one half, we could defend the remainder of our possessions? Where is the man to be found, who wishes to remain indebted for the defence of his own person and property, to the exertions, the bravery, and the blood of others, without making one generous effort to pay the debt of honour and gratitude? In what part of the continent shall we find any man, or body of men, who would not blush to stand up, and propose measures purposely calculated to rob the soldier of his stipend, and the public creditor of his due? And were it possible that such a flagrant instance of injustice could ever happen, would it not excite the general indignation, and tend to bring down upon the authors of such measures, the aggravated vengeance of Heaven? If, after all, a spirit of disunion, or a temper of obstinacy and perverseness should manifest itself in any of the states; if such an ungracious disposition should attempt to frustrate all the happy effects that might be expected to flow from the union; if there should be a refusal to comply with the requisitions for funds to discharge the annual interest of the public debts, and if that refusal should revive all those jealousies, and produce all those evils which are now happily removed—congress, who have, in all their transactions, shown a great degree of magnanimity and justice, will stand justified in the sight of God and man; and that state alone, which puts itself in opposition to the aggregate wisdom of the continent, and follows such mistaken and pernicious counsels, will be responsible for all the consequences.

For my own part, conscious of having acted, while a

servant of the public, in the manner I conceived best suited to promote the real interests of my country; having, in consequence of my fixed belief, in some measure pledged myself to the army, that their country would finally do them complete and ample justice, and not wishing to conceal any instance of my official conduct from the eyes of the world, I have thought proper to transmit to your excellency the enclosed collection of papers, relative to the half-pay and commutation granted by congress to the officers of the army: from these communications my decided sentiments will be clearly comprehended, together with the conclusive reasons, which induced me at an early period, to recommend the adoption of this measure in the most earnest and serious manner. As the proceedings of congress, the army, and myself, are open to all, and contain, in my opinion, sufficient information to remove the prejudice and errors which may have been entertained by any, I think it unnecessary to say any thing more, than just to observe, that the resolutions of congress, now alluded to, are undoubtedly as absolutely binding upon the United States, as the most solemn acts of confederation or legislation.

As to the idea, which, I am informed, has in some instances prevailed, that the half-pay and commutation are to be regarded merely in the odious light of a pension, it ought to be exploded for ever: that provision should be viewed, as it really was, a reasonable compensation offered by congress, at a time when they had nothing else to give to the officers of the army, for services then to be performed: it was the only means to prevent a total dereliction of the service; it was a part of their hire. I may be allowed to say, it was the price of their blood, and of your independence; it is therefore more than a common debt, it is a debt of honour; it can never be considered as a pension or gratuity, nor be cancelled until it is fairly discharged.

With regard to the distinction between officers and soldiers, it is sufficient that the uniform experience of

every nation of the world, combined with our own, proves the utility and propriety of the discrimination. Rewards, in proportion to the aid the public derives from them, are unquestionably due to all its servants. In some lines the soldiers have, perhaps, generally, had as ample compensation for their services, by the large bounties which have been paid them, as their officers will receive in the proposed commutation; in others, if besides the donation of land, the payment of arrearages of clothing and wages (in which articles all the component parts of the army must be put upon the same footing) we take into the estimate, the bounties many of the soldiers have received, and the gratuity of one year's full pay, which is promised to all, possibly their situation (every circumstance being duly considered) will not be deemed less eligible than that of the officers.

Should a farther reward, however, be judged equitable, I will venture to assert, no man will enjoy greater satisfaction than myself, on seeing an exemption from taxes for a limited time (which has been petitioned for in some instances) or any other adequate immunity or compensation granted to the brave defenders of their country's cause; but neither the adoption or rejection of this proposition will in any manner affect, much less militate against the act of congress, by which they have offered five years full pay, in lieu of the half-pay for life, which had been before promised to the officers of the army.

Before I conclude the subject of public justice, I cannot omit to mention the obligations this country is under to that meritorious class of veteran non-commissioned officers and privates, who have been discharged for inability, in consequence of the resolution of congress, of the 23d of April, 1782, on an annual pension for life. Their peculiar sufferings, their singular merits and claims to that provision need only be known, to interest all the feelings of humanity in their behalf. Nothing but a punctual payment of their annual allowance can rescue them from the most complicated misery; and no-



thing could be a more melancholy and distressing sight, than to behold those who have shed their blood, or lost their limbs in the service of their country, without a shelter, without a friend, and without the means of obtaining any of the comforts or necessities of life, compelled to beg their daily bread from door to door. Suffer me to recommend those of this description belonging to your state, to the warmest patronage of your excellency and your legislature.

It is necessary to say but a few words on the third topic which was proposed, and which regards particularly the defence of the republic. As there can be little doubt but congress will recommend a proper peace establishment for the United States, in which a due attention will be paid to the importance of placing the militia of the union upon a regular and respectable footing; if this should be the case, I would beg leave to urge the great advantage of it in the strongest terms.

The militia of this country must be considered as the palladium of our security, and the first effectual resort in case of hostility; it is essential, therefore, that the same system should pervade the whole; that the formation and discipline of the militia of the continent should be absolutely uniform; and that the same species of arms, accoutrements, and military apparatus, should be introduced in every part of the United States. No one, who has not learned it from experience, can conceive the difficulty, expense, and confusion which result from a contrary system, or the vague arrangements which have hitherto prevailed.

If, in treating of political points, a greater latitude than usual has been taken in the course of this address, the importance of the crisis, and the magnitude of the objects in discussion, must be my apology: it is however, neither my wish nor expectation, that the preceding observations should claim any regard, except so far as they should appear to be dictated by a good intention; consonant to the immediate rules of justice; calculated to produce a liberal system of policy, and founded

on whatever experience may have been acquired by a long and close attention to public business. Here I might speak with more confidence, from my actual observations; and if it would not swell this letter (already too prolix) beyond the bounds I had prescribed myself, I could demonstrate to every mind, open to conviction, that in less time, and with much less expense than has been incurred, the war might have been brought to the same happy conclusion, if the resources of the continent had been properly drawn forth; that the distresses and disappointments which have very often occurred, have, in too many instances, resulted more from a want of energy in the continental government, than a deficiency of means in the particular states: that the inefficacy of the measures, arising from the want of an adequate authority in the supreme power, from a partial compliance with the requisitions of congress in some of the states, and from a failure of punctuality in others, while it tended to damp the zeal of those who were more willing to exert themselves, served also to accumulate the expenses of the war, and to frustrate the best concerted plans; and that the discouragement occasioned by the complicated difficulties and embarrassments, in which our affairs were by this means involved, would have long ago produced the dissolution of any army, less patient, less virtuous, and less persevering than that which I have had the honour to command. But while I mention those things, which are notorious facts, as the defects of our federal constitution, particularly in the prosecution of a war, I beg it may be understood, that as I have ever taken a pleasure in gratefully acknowledging the assistance and support I have derived from every class of citizens; so shall I always be happy to do justice to the unparalleled exertions of the individual states, on so many interesting occasions.

I have thus freely disclosed what I wished to make known before I surrendered up my public trust to those who committed it to me: the task is now accomplished. I now bid adieu to your excellency, as the chief magis-

trate of your state ; at the same time I bid a last farewell to the cares of office, and all the employments of public life.

It remains, then, to be my final and only request, that your excellency will communicate these sentiments to your legislature, at their next meeting ; and that they may be considered as the legacy of one who has ardently wished on all occasions, to be useful to his country, and who, even in the shade of retirement, will not fail to implore the Divine benediction upon it.

I now make it my earnest prayer, that God would have you, and the state over which you preside, in his holy protection ; that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government ; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their fellow citizens of the United States at large ; and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field ; and finally, that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind, which were the characteristics of the Divine author of our blessed religion ; without an humble imitation of whose example, in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation.

I have the honour to be, with much esteem and respect, sir, your excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

General Washington having retired from all public employment, now assumed the character of a private gentleman ; he employed himself in improving his farms and plantation, and in cultivating the arts of peace. But in this retreat of happiness and rural simplicity he was not long suffered to remain ; it was too soon for the *Father of America* to leave his infant care, his well tried virtues were generally and justly known to his fellow citizens, and their confidence in his judg-

ment, experience and disinterested patriotism, was universal, even to enthusiasm. Four years had not expired from the period at which he resigned his military command, when the voice of his country again called him to its service.

In these peaceful scenes, Washington enjoyed the rational delights of rural life from the year 1783, till the summer of 1787, when he was chosen president of the convention, which met at Philadelphia, and framed the present constitution of the United States. The federal union after eleven years experience, had been found inadequate to the purposes of government. The fundamental distinction between the articles of confederation, and the new constitution, lies in this; the former acted only on states, the latter on individuals;—the former could neither raise men or money by its own authority, but lay at the discretion of 13 different legislatures, and without their unanimous concurrence, was unable to provide for the public safety, or for the payment of the national debt. By the new constitution, one legislative, executive, and judicial power pervades the whole union. After a full consideration, and thorough discussion of its principles, it was ratified by 11 of the 13 states, and North-Carolina and Rhode-Island have since given their concurrence.

The new constitution being thus adopted, Washington was chosen president in April, 1789, by the unanimous vote of his countrymen. When he received intelligence of his election, he set out from Mount Vernon for New-York. He was escorted by the militia and gentlemen of the first character from state to state, and numerous addresses of congratulation were presented to him by the inhabitants of the towns through which he passed. On his approach to Philadelphia, he was met by above 20,000 citizens, who conducted him to the city, where an elegant entertainment was prepared for him.

His progress from Philadelphia to New-York as de-

scribed by an elegant writer, presents an animated picture of public gratitude.\*

On the 30th of April he was inaugurated president of the United States, and took the oath enjoined by the constitution, in the following words, "I do solemnly swear, that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, protect and defend the constitution of the United States." An universal and solemn silence prevailed among the spectators during this part of the ceremony. The chancellor then proclaimed him president of the United States, and was answered by the discharge of cannon, and the acclamations of 20,000 citizens. After which he delivered his inaugural address to both houses of congress.†

---

The first session of congress, under the new constitution, continued their sittings from the 4th of March until the 29th of September: their attention was chiefly directed towards the establishment of various regulations for the restoration of the public credit of the United States, and other objects of political economy. During the period of the session, the president resided at New-York, sanctioning the proceedings of the legislature, and otherwise organizing the federal government. Shortly after the rising of congress, he made a tour to the states of Connecticut, Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, attended by Mr. Lear and major Jackson, his secretaries. In every part of the country through which he passed, the citizens embraced the opportunity of personally testifying their esteem and respect of the *man of their choice*, in whose character, whatever is great and good—whatever dignifies and adorns human nature, are so happily united. All that a grateful people could pay, was paid; whenever he approached a town or village, the roads were lined with citizens to hail him welcome

\* See page 356 of this volume.

† See page 358 of this volume.

—the military escorted him from place to place. Particularly to relate all the grateful testimonials which were paid him during this visit, is impossible, from their number. If our limits would permit, a description of the manner in which he was received at Boston would be particularly interesting; nor can we specify the numerous congratulatory addresses which were presented him. But no particular circumstance gave him more pleasure, during his whole tour, than the plain and hearty manner in which Mr. Northey, the chairman of the selectmen at Salem, received him. This gentleman is of the society of Friends, and when the president was presented to the selectmen, Mr. Northey, being covered, took him by the hand, and said, "Friend Washington, we are glad to see thee, and in behalf of the inhabitants, bid thee a hearty welcome to Salem."

On his arrival at Newburyport, the following incident occurred: a poor old soldier named Cotton, who was with him in the memorable battle on the Ohio, when Braddock was defeated, requested and was admitted into the room where the president was,—on the soldier's asking, "*how major Washington did?*" the president immediately recollected his person, and rising from his chair, took him by the hand, and tenderly enquired into the scenes of his life, and present circumstances. "I thank God," answered the soldier, "that I have an opportunity of seeing my old commander once more, I have seen him in adversity, and now see him in glory, I can go home and die contented." The next morning, he came again to take leave of the president, who gave him a guinea, which he accepted, he said, "merely as a token in remembrance of his commander," which he wore pendant on his bosom, declaring that nothing earthly should separate it from him.

While general Washington was president of the United States, the following circumstance, which does honour to his humanity, occurred. One Reuben Rouzy, of Virginia, owed him about a thousand pounds; one of the president's agents brought a suit for the money, judg-

ment was obtained, and execution issued against the body of the defendant, who was taken to gaol. He had a considerable landed property, but this kind of property cannot be sold in Virginia for debts, unless at the discretion of the person. He had a large family, and preferred lying in gaol to selling his land, for the sake of his children.—Some of his acquaintance hinted to him, that probably general Washington did not know any thing of the proceeding, and it might be well to send him a petition, with a statement of the circumstances. He did so, and the very next post from Philadelphia, after his petition arrived, brought him a releasement, with a severe *reprimand* on the agent for acting in such a cruel manner, without consent. Poor Rouzy was, in consequence, restored to his family and happiness, who never laid down their heads at night, without offering their prayers to heaven for our *much beloved* WASHINGTON.

On the 4th day of January, 1790, congress held their second session at New-York. The president opened it with a speech; he congratulated them on the favourable prospects which the public affairs then assumed; the accession of the state of North-Carolina to the union, the rising credit and respectability of the country, and the concord, peace and plenty with which they were blessed; he directed their attention towards the making provision for the common defence, assuring them that “to be prepared for war, is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace, and that a free people ought not only to be armed but disciplined;” he recommended the protection of the western and southern frontiers against the depredations of the hostile Indians; the establishment of intercourse with other nations; the framing of an uniform law for the naturalization of foreigners; the importance of uniformity in the currency, weights and measures throughout the union; the advancement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures; the encouragement of exertions of skill, and genius, and to facilitate the intercourse between the distant parts of the country, by a due attention to the post office and post roads. He particularly

recommended the promotion of science and literature, as the surest basis of public happiness, and best means of securing a free constitution, by teaching the people to know and to value their rights, to discern and provide against innovations of them, to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority, to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first, avoiding the last, and uniting a speedy but temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect to the laws. He informed them that he had directed the papers and estimates to be laid before them, which were necessary to convey to them that information of the state of the union, which it was his duty to afford. He concluded by assuring them, that "He should derive great satisfaction, from a cooperation with them, in the pleasing, though arduous task, of ensuring to their fellow citizens the blessings which they have a right to expect from a free, efficient, and equal government."

This session continued their sittings until the 12th of August following; in that month the president negotiated a treaty of peace and friendship between the United States and the Creek nation of Indians; the ceremony took place at New-York, on the 30th of September. The same year general Harmer, with 320 United States troops, and 1133 militia, gave battle to the Miami Indians, by whom he was defeated with the loss of 183 men killed, and 31 wounded; about 100 or upwards of the Indians were killed. The Miami village, containing about 100 log houses, or wigwams, with 20,000 bushels of corn, was destroyed.

The third session of congress met on the 6th of December, 1790, and rose on the 3d of March following; their deliberations were chiefly directed towards the regulation of commerce, further improvement of the judicial system, and making provision for the appointment of consuls in foreign countries. The state of Kentucky was admitted into the union as a distinct state, and a loan was negotiated with the states of Holland.



The Indian war continued on the frontier of the states. During the summer of 1791, general Scott surprised the Wabash towns: he killed about 30 Indians, took 50 prisoners, and brought with him 200 horses, loaded with peltry and other articles of plunder, with the loss of three men only. The attention of the president during the period of this congress, was chiefly directed towards the adoption of measures for the protection of the frontiers, and establishment of commerce.

On the 24th of October, 1791, the second congress commenced their first session; the president, as usual, opened the session by a speech to both houses; he began by remarking the abundance of the preceding harvest, the progressive state of agriculture, manufactures, commerce and navigation, and the general and happy effects which had been produced by the revival of public and private confidence, to which the laws of the United States had so eminently contributed. He mentioned the plan laid down for conciliating the friendship of the Indians; the basis of which was strict adherence to the dictates of justice and humanity. The act for laying a duty on distilled spirits, had been, he said, attended with some difficulty, from the want of experience in the federal government, to make the proper arrangements, and, in some parts of the union, there had been a misconception of its provisions; but he entertained no doubt that the discontent produced from it would be removed by a proper explanation of the law. The president next observed, that, agreeable to several acts on that subject, a district of ten miles square, for the permanent seat of the government of the United States, had been fixed upon, and announced by proclamation; that the district comprehended lands on both sides of the Potomac, and the towns of Alexandria and Georgetown; that a city had accordingly been laid out, and that there was every reason to expect a due progress in the buildings. He also informed the two houses that a census of the inhabitants of the United States, had been almost completed, and afforded the pleasing assurances that the present

population bordered upon four millions of persons; that a further loan of two millions and an half of florins had been completed in Holland, upon terms similar to the last, and that another loan for six millions of florins had been set on foot. He concluded by recommending to their particular attention, the supporting of the militia on an effective plan; the administration of the post-office, the extension and improvement of the post-roads, the necessity for a public mint, an uniformity of weights and measures, and a provision for the sale of the vacant lands of the United States.

This session continued their deliberations, until the 8th of May, 1792, when they adjourned till the first Monday of November following. During their session and adjournment, there was no remarkable or important event: a series of massacres, were, as formerly, committed on the frontiers; the hopes expressed by the president, of being able to accommodate the disputes with the Indians, did not prove successful. On the 4th of November, 1791, the United States army, under the command of general St. Clair, was attacked by surprise, within fifteen miles of the Miami village; the contest lasted four hours, when the Indians became victorious, the retreat of the Americans was accomplished with the loss of 46 officers, and 600 privates, killed; 21 commissioned officers, and 242 non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded, and 8 pieces of artillery and their whole baggage taken. In this battle it is said, that 1200 Canadians fought under the disguise of Indians. The attention of the executive, during this period, was also engaged in devising modes to reconcile the citizens, in some districts of the union, to the law, enacted for the purpose of collecting a certain duty on spirits, distilled within the United States, in some of the states, particularly the western parts of Pennsylvania, where a regular and formidable opposition began to manifest itself, in consequence of which, the special interposition of the president was deemed advisable. He issued a proclamation, recommending a compliance with the laws, and warning

the citizens against unlawful proceedings and combinations, having a tendency to obstruct the same.

The second congress met again in November, 1792. The president opened the session with a speech, the greatest part of which respected the unfortunate endeavours to terminate the Indian hostilities. He informed congress of the opposition which had been manifested to the excise law, and recommended a revision of the judiciary system. He further observed, that three loans had been negotiated for the use of the United States, one at Antwerp, and two at Amsterdam, each for three millions of florins, on very reasonable terms, which afforded a pleasing evidence of the increasing credit of the new government. On the 2d of March, 1793, this session adjourned.

Heretofore the prosperity of the United States met with little or no interruption, except from the hostility of the Indians. The attention of the executive was chiefly directed to the establishment of those measures which the organization of the infant republic rendered necessary. The extension of commerce, and the disputes of the European powers, rendered it necessary for the United States to send and receive ministers and agents, for the better regulation of affairs.

This necessary measure created troubles and perplexities hitherto unknown to the executive of the United States. On the 8th of April, 1793, citizen Genet arrived at Charleston, as minister plenipotentiary from the executive of France, to the president of the United States. On the 22d of the same month, the president issued a proclamation, enjoining the citizens of the United States to a strict neutrality, in the contest between the maritime powers, and threatening prosecution to all who should infringe the same. The public approbation of this wise measure, for the preservation of the public tranquillity, was manifested in numerous addresses to the president, thanking him in warm terms for his attention to the interest of the citizens; many, however, were offended at the measure, as they conceived that it implied a deficiency of respect and gratitude to the re-

public of France, to whom the United States were highly indebted for their independence. Genet arrived in Philadelphia, the seat of government, on the 17th of May. The conduct of this minister is, perhaps, unexampled in diplomatic history. It was not until the publication of the proclamation of the president, enjoining neutrality, that the government first heard of his arrival, and even then, they were only informed through the medium of the newspapers, about a fortnight after his arrival; instead of presenting his credentials to the president, he began to assume a conduct imprudent and unbecoming; he undertook to authorize the fitting out of armed vessels; he enlisted citizens and others, and gave commissions to cruize and commit hostilities against the vessels of England and other nations at war with France, but who were, at the same time, at peace with the United States. These vessels had actually taken prizes, brought them into American ports, where the consuls of France held courts of admiralty, tried, condemned, and authorized their sale as legal prizes. These proceedings, in opposition to the peace of the United States, were instantly complained of by Mr. Hammond, the British minister; thus were the seeds of future controversy planted. The government of the United States interfered, and, in some cases, overruled the proceedings of both the British and French, as illegal; remonstrances were exhibited to the president, from both sides, which created a series of diplomatic correspondence. A new source of discontent, on the part of the French, now arose; Genet demanded, with some abruptness, money from the treasury of the United States, in part payment of their debt to France, with which the American government found it inconvenient to comply. This state of diplomatic hostility could not be expected to hold out long without coming to a crisis. Accordingly, on the 16th of August, the president ordered Mr. Jefferson, the secretary of state, to address a letter to Mr. Morris, the American ambassador in France, soliciting the republic to recal their minister. In the

mean time citizen Dauplaine, vice consul for the republic of France, in the port of Boston, having committed sundry encroachments on the laws of the United States, the president, in consequence thereof, suspended his powers.

The term for which general Washington was elected president having expired, he was again reelected to the same office. On the second of December, 1793, the third congress commenced their first session. The president, in his speech to both houses, expressed a respectful sense of the confidence that he enjoyed, in being again called, by the suffrage of his fellow citizens, to the office of chief magistrate. He recited the measures which he had adopted to avoid a rupture with any of the powers at war, and to ensure to the citizens of the United States the rights of neutrality. He further recommended to congress, the necessity of placing the country in a state of defence; that while the United States fulfilled their duties to the rest of the world, they may likewise exact the fulfilment of the like duties towards them. He informed them of the means which had been pursued for conciliating the dispositions of the Indians, and recommended to congress to make provision for the establishment of commerce with the Indian nations, as the best means of securing their interest, and rendering their tranquillity permanent; he concluded by recommending a repeal of the tax on the transportation of public prints, as they contained the best means of informing the minds, and securing the affection of their constituents:—he afterwards, by a special message, informed the house of representatives, “that although the government of the French nation had generally manifested a friendly disposition to the United States, yet the person unfortunately appointed their minister plenipotentiary, had breathed nothing of the friendly disposition of the nation which sent him; his proceedings had uniformly tended to involve us in war abroad, and discord and anarchy at home.” He hoped that the French government would not long suffer the United States to

remain exposed to the action of a person, who had so little respected the mutual dispositions of the two countries.

Soon after this period, this minister was recalled, his conduct having been unequivocally disapproved of. About this period the commerce of the United States began to suffer greatly, from the depredations of the British, under pretence of their being loaded with French property; it also suffered from the piracy of privateers, who, for the most part, disclaiming justice altogether, seized both vessels and cargo, and disposed of the same for their own use; a considerable number of American vessels were likewise captured in the Western Ocean by the Algerine corsairs. These subjects were assumed by congress, and many modes were proposed for the purpose of putting a stop to the unwarrantable excesses. A bill was passed, to provide a naval armament against the Algerines. On the 25th of March, a motion was made in the house of representatives, assented to by the senate, and signed by the president, laying an embargo for 30 days, on all vessels bound to foreign ports; this embargo was afterwards continued until the 25th of May. The president was empowered to raise an additional corps of artillerymen, for the purpose of garrisoning the fortifications for the defence of the sea coasts; he was also authorized to call on the executives of the different states, to take effectual measures for organizing 80,000 effective militia.

On the 19th of May, intelligence was received from the territory N. W. of the river Ohio, stating the hardships which the citizens of that territory sustained from the hostile disposition of the Cherokee Indians; the massacre of 200 people, and the loss of 2000 horses, formed a part of the list of their disasters. On the 20th of May, the president, by a message, informed the house of representatives, that there had been some danger of hostilities against the territories of Spain, in the neighbourhood of the United States: that the

governor of Kentucky had indicated, that he would make no exertions to prevent the expulsion of the Spaniards from the banks of the Mississippi, as he had found them a perfidious and worthless people, constantly exciting the Indians to murder the settlers in that quarter.

During this session of congress, many important laws were enacted. The act assigning to the marquis de la Fayette, the sum of 24,424 dollars, for his services during the war, being the pay of a major general: and the act forbidding American citizens, or foreigners, residing in the United States, under severe penalties, from being concerned in the slave trade, does great honour to the legislature. On the 9th of June, 1794, this session adjourned.

In 1794, during the recess of congress, the attention of the president of the United States was called to suppress an insurrection, which began to assume a very formidable aspect. It was confined to the western parts of the state of Pennsylvania. The outlines of it are as follow, viz. During the year 1790, the congress of the United States found it necessary "to lay and collect excises." This mode of taxation, discordant to the genius of the citizens, in many parts of the union, met with considerable opposition, which, however, was gradually banished by reason and patriotism, excepting the four western counties of Pennsylvania, where a prejudice still remained, and produced symptoms of riot and violence. The disaffection was at first vented in general complaints; certain associations were formed to prevent the operation of the laws, and the excise officers received some marks of contempt and rudeness. These associations held public meetings, and published their resolutions. Besides the excise law, they censured several other acts of the federal government; as the exorbitant salaries of office, the institution of a national bank, the interest of the public debt, &c.

On the 6th of September, 1791, the collector of the revenue for that district was seized by a party, armed,

and in disguise; they tarred and feathered him, cut off his hair, and committed other acts of violence; legal process was therefore issued against the offenders, but the insurgents prevented the marshal from serving them; they fired upon him, arrested, and for some time, detained him as a prisoner; a number of similar outrages were committed. The president, the ever watchful guardian of the constitution, beheld, with sorrow, these excesses; he sought and weighed what was best to be done in this momentous crisis; he beheld the judiciary stripped of its capacity to enforce the laws, and crimes, which reached to the very existence of social order, perpetrated without controul; the friends of government insulted, and that constitution violated, which he had made a sacred vow to protect; he beheld with abhorrence the idea of "arraying citizen against citizen," until every lenient measure should be exhausted. He issued proclamations, exhorting the rioters to desist from such disorderly proceedings; he recommended obedience to the laws; he appointed commissioners to repair to the scene of insurrection, authorized them to confer with the insurgents, to state to them his sensations, to assure them that it was his earnest wish to avoid a resort to coercion; he even offered them pardon, on condition of receiving satisfactory assurance of obedience to the laws.

These lenient measures did not produce the good effects that should have been expected. The president therefore deemed it prudent to resort to military force.—Fifteen thousand militia were put in motion, their number intimidated the insurgents: thus the insurrection was quelled without the effusion of blood; some of the ring leaders were apprehended and brought to trial; one of them was found guilty of high treason, and condemned to suffer, but was pardoned by the president.—Indeed, the same goodness of disposition actuated the president, from the beginning to the termination of this licentious invasion of the laws, notwithstanding there are in the United States, certain discontented, invidious



individuals, who wish to stigmatize every act of the executive with opprobrium.

In November, 1794, the third congress held their second session, at Philadelphia. The president began his speech with a history of the opposition which had been manifested to the constitution and laws of the United States, and of the means which he had pursued to suppress it; the alacrity which the militia and others, who volunteered their service, displayed, exhibited, he said, "to the highest advantage, the value of republican government; to behold the most and least wealthy of our citizens, standing in the same ranks as private soldiers, preeminently distinguished by being the army of the constitution; undeterred by a march of three hundred miles, over rugged mountains, by the approach of an inclement season, or by any other discouragement." He recommended to congress to reimburse the officers of government and other citizens, who had sustained losses, for their generous exertions in upholding the constitution and laws; "the amount," he said, "would not be great; and on future emergencies, the government would be amply repaid by the influence of an example, that he who incurs a loss in its defence, shall find a recompense in its liberality." The intelligence of the army of general Wayne, acting against the hostile Indians, N. W. of the Ohio, he said, "afforded a happy presage to the military operations, that they had damped the ardour and obstinacy of the savages."—Yet although the power of the United States to punish them could not be questioned, that he was not unwilling to cement a lasting peace, upon terms of equity and good neighbourhood; he recommended the adoption of a definitive plan for the redemption of the public debt, and in subsequent communications he transmitted to them, certain papers relative to the intercourse of the United States with foreign nations; (they announced to congress and to the world, his unremitting exertions to cultivate peace with all the world) to observe treaties with good faith, to check deviations from the line of impar-

tiality, and to explain and correct what was misapprehended or appeared injurious.

Ever since the formal ratification of the treaties of peace between the United States and Great-Britain, numerous causes of complaint has existed on the part of both countries respecting its fulfilment. The history of the nature, progress, and final termination of these disputes, will form a very interesting part in the history of the political and diplomatic character of *president Washington*; but the bounds which we have assigned to the present sketch, prevents us from entering fully upon the subject: the ground of complaint on both sides, was disputed in 1792, in a correspondence between Mr. Jefferson, secretary of state, and Mr. Hammond, the envoy of Britain; in their letters, the reciprocal complaints are stated with candour, perspicuity and completeness; to support their respective arguments, they bring forward on each side, a large body of illustrations and authorities, which are highly interesting. This correspondence was published by congress in 1794. The arguments of Mr. Jefferson appeared to have contained unanswerable weight, as no reply or explanation were ever made to them, although requested by him.—Affairs remained in this state of suspense until June 1793, when the British, in consequence of their hostilities with France, issued orders to the commanders of their vessels, to stop all neutral vessels carrying provisions to any port in that republic; ships attempting to enter any French port, blockaded by the English, were to be condemned, both vessel and cargo, whatever it may consist of: the order contained a limited exception in favour of Denmark and Sweden, but in the execution of it, the rights of America were entirely disregarded. This matter produced a diplomatic discussion between the ministers of the two countries, both at London and Philadelphia: their correspondence produced a mutual wish on both sides to establish a treaty of commerce, and a friendly adjustment of all complaints. The president of the United States, accordingly nominated Mr. John Jay, chief justice of the

United States, as an envoy extraordinary to the court of London. After a short passage, Mr. Jay arrived in London, where he met with a polite reception, and negotiated the *Treaty of Peace, Commerce and Navigation*.

The treaty arrived in Philadelphia in March 1795; it was shortly after submitted to the senate for their consent; they returned it to the president on the 24th of June, and advised the conditional ratification thereof. About the 30th of the same month it was submitted to the public through the medium of the news papers. It now became the general topic of conversation; it was placed in all the different points of view of which it was susceptible, and in many of which it could not admit.

It met with great opposition: addresses and resolutions were received from all the commercial towns of the union; some advising its ratification, others disapproving of it in *toto*. This opposition was viewed by the president in a very serious light; he considered the subject and weighed all the arguments which had been advanced against it; his own opinion was not in favour of it, but he did not wish to differ from the senate, and thought that it would be better to ratify it in the manner they had advised; to this measure he was also induced, as Mr. Jay had asserted "that no better terms could possibly be obtained; and that obstinacy in rejecting the settlement, might be serious." The president therefore assented, and ratifications were exchanged, with the suspension of the most objectionable article.

This transaction is perhaps the most unfortunate that occurred to his excellency during the whole period of his presidency. Those opposed to the treaty did not fail to load him with reproach; no stone was left unturned that could impress upon the minds of the citizens gross falsehoods; such as, that the treaty contained no reciprocal advantages, that the benefits were all on the side of Britain; that their rights were not only neglected, but absolutely sold; that it was made with the design of oppressing the French, and contrary to every principle of gratitude and sound policy.

The first session of the fourth congress met at Philadelphia, in December, 1795. The president in a speech informed them that negotiations were on foot for the adjustment of affairs with the hostile Indians, and also with the dey and regency of Algiers; that he had received assurances of a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of the negotiations with Spain; that with the advice of the senate he had ratified a treaty with Britain, upon a condition which excepts part of one article. He recommended a review of the military establishment, and to make provision for garrisoning and securing the western posts which were to be delivered up by the British. He informed them that a state of the finance and appropriations necessary for the ensuing year would be laid before them, as also statements relative to the mint, progress in providing materials for building frigates, state of fortifications, and military magazines, &c. He concluded with a recommendation of temperate discussions and mutual forbearance in subjects where a difference of opinion may be apt to arise.

A warm and lengthy discussion took place in the house of representatives relative to the British treaty. Both sides of the question were ably supported; few subjects had ever come before the house, upon which so many members delivered their sentiments. On the 24th of March, 1796, they came to a resolution, requesting the president to lay before the house, a copy of the instructions to Mr. Jay, together with his correspondence and other documents relative to that treaty. To this request the president gave a positive refusal; he assured the house, that he had always endeavoured to harmonize with the other branches of the government, and that he had never withheld any information which the constitution enjoined him to give. But that the nature of foreign negotiations required caution and secrecy; that all the papers relative thereto had been laid before the senate; that the constitution empowered him to make treaties with the consent of that body, but that it would establish a dangerous precedent to admit a right in the house

of representatives to demand and have all papers respecting negotiations with foreign powers, after the treaties were finally concluded and ratified, and the assent of that house not necessary to their validity.

We deem it unnecessary to enter into a history of the differences which took place with the republic of France, as they are so recent as to be generally remembered; suffice it to observe, that during the whole period in which general Washington sat at the helm of public affairs, his whole conduct uniformly exhibited moderation and prudence, magnanimity and firmness, wisdom and virtue.

The period of general Washington's second election to the office of chief magistrate being nearly expired, he put on a determined resolution to retire from public affairs, and enjoy his declining years in private life. Upon this momentous occasion, resigning a charge which he at first accepted through his enthusiasm for the principles of *rational liberty*, he was impressed with the purest wishes for the future happiness of that republic, which he had devoted the early, the mature, and a portion of his declining years to establish. And as a testimony of pure regard, he published the following masterly address to his fellow citizens.

### VALEDICTORY ADDRESS

*Of his excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq. President of the United States; announcing his intention of retiring from all public employment.*

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

*Friends and fellow citizens,*

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the per-

son who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprize you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the ar-

duous trust, were explained on the proper occasion.† In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me, as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstance have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary; I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances some times dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected.—Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence;

that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual ; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained ; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue ; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplations, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so ; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad ; of your safety, and your prosperity ; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes, and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth ; as this is the point in your political fortress



against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned: and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of *American*, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together: the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enter-

prize and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefitting by the same agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East, supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one *nation*.—Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter.—

Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty; in this sense, it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire.—Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere!—Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who, in any quarter, may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations, "*Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western*;" whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had an useful lesson on this head: they

have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the *Mississippi*: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great-Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the *Union* by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable.—No alliances, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government; but, the constitution which at any time exists, till chang-

ed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with real design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprizing minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy-state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles however specious the pretends. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be

invited, remember that time and habit are at least, as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interest, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is indeed little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprizes of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular references to the founding them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments more or less stifled, controuled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism.—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individ-

ual : and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public counsels, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms ; kindles the animosity of one party against another ; foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country, are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true ; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate

the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us for the truth of this position.

The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions of the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern: some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in a way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure; reason and experience both forbid



us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it, is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace; but remembering also, that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives; but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate.

To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue: that to have revenue, there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects, (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigences may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations:

cultivate peace and harmony with all: religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt, but, in the course time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it?—Can it be that providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature.—Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests.—The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another, produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliance of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment to a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another,

cause those whom they actuate to see the danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even to second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance: when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I

mean, as we are now at liberty to do it: for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise, to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying, by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish;

that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations: but, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to, to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligations which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error; I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors.—*Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.*

Relying on its kindness in this, as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the natural soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate, with pleasing expectation, that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government; the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours and dangers.

G. WASHINGTON.

*United States,  
17th September, 1796.*

On the 7th of December, 1796, president Washington delivered his last speech to the representatives of

the people at the opening of the second session of the fourth congress. We regret that our contracted limits will not permit of inserting it verbatim. In this address he communicates information respecting the measures taken for carrying into effect treaties with the Indian nations, Great-Britain, Spain, and Algiers. He likewise informs, that measures are in operation for effecting treaties with the regencies of Tunis and Tripoli. He wishes the United States to look to the means, and to set about the gradual creation of a navy; so that a future war of Europe may not find our commerce in the same unprotected state in which it was found by the present.

He then proceeds to recommend the establishment of certain branches of manufacture on public account; *particularly those which are of a nature essential to the furnishing and equipping of the public force in time of war.*

He judiciously recommends the institution of a board of agriculture, composed of proper characters, charged with collecting and diffusing information, and enabled, by premiums of small pecuniary aids, to encourage and assist a spirit of discovery and improvement. Experience had proved this to be a cheap instrument of immense national benefit. He then recalls the attention of congress, to a subject, he had before proposed to their consideration, the expediency of establishing a national university, and also a military academy. He points out as motives to the institution of a national university, the assimilation of the principles, opinions, and manners of our countrymen, by the common education of a portion of our youth from every quarter, and remarks that the more homogeneous our citizens can be made in these particulars, the greater will be the prospect of our permanent union; and that a primary object should be the education of our youth in the science of GOVERNMENT. In a republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important? and what duty can be more pressing on its legislature, than to patronize a plan for com-



municating it to those who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the country?

The institution of a military academy, he also observes is recommended by cogent reasons. However pacific, says he, the general policy of a nation may be, it ought never to be without an adequate stock of military knowledge, for emergencies.

The following important paragraph is verbatim: "The compensations to the officers of the United States, in various instances, and in none more than in respect to the most important stations, appear to call for legislative revision. The consequences of a defective provision are of serious import to the government. If private wealth is to supply the defect of public contribution, it will greatly contract the sphere within which the selection of character for office is to be made, and will proportionably diminish the probability of a choice of men able, as well as upright. Besides, that it would be repugnant to the vital principles of our government, virtually to exclude from public trusts, talents and virtue, unless accompanied by wealth."

The president then expresses his regret at the unpleasant circumstances which have occurred relative to the French republic; his ardent wish being to maintain cordial harmony, as far as is consistent with the rights and honour of our country.

The house of representatives he informed, that the revenues of the United States continued in a state of progressive improvement: and are invited to take such further measures as will ascertain, to our country, the speedy extinguishment of the public debt.

He then concluded his address to both houses of congress, in the following words: "My solicitude to see the militia of the United States placed on an efficient establishment, has been so often and so ardently expressed, that I shall but barely recal the subject to your view, on the present occasion; at the same time, I shall submit to your inquiry, whether our harbours are yet sufficiently secured."

“The situation in which I now stand, for the last time, in the midst of the representatives of the people of the United States, naturally recalls the period, when the administration of the present form of government commenced; and I cannot omit the occasion to congratulate you, and my country, on the success of the experiment; nor to repeat my fervent prayer to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, and Sovereign Arbitrer of Nations, that his providential care may still be extended to the United States; that the virtue and happiness of the people may be preserved; and that the government which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties may be perpetual.”

On Saturday, the 4th of March, 1797, *John Adams*, Esq. who was elected the successor of *president Washington*, attended the senate and representatives of the United States, and took his oath of office, according to the directions of the constitution. The ceremony afforded a spectacle of high satisfaction and delight to every genuine republican. To behold a fellow citizen, raised by the voice of the people, to be the first magistrate of a free nation, and to behold at the same time *George Washington*, who lately filled the presidential chair, attending the inauguration of the successor in office, as a private citizen, beautifully exemplify the sublime simplicity and excellence of republican government.

The last official act of *president Washington*, is a letter to the secretary of state, dated March 3, 1797. It respects certain forged letters, which were published in the years 1777 and 1796, and obtruded on the public as his. They were published at the two most critical periods of his life, with the view of striking at the integrity of his motives, of wounding his character, and of deceiving the people. At the conclusion, therefore, of his public employments, he deemed it a duty which he owed to himself, to his country, and to truth, to detail the circumstances, and solemnly to declare, that the letters (the dates of which he recites) are base forgeries, were never written by him, and that he never

saw or heard of them, until they appeared in print. During the period in which he held the supreme command of the army, and his civil administration, the purity of his own mind prevented him from contradicting the falsehood by any public declaration; but, upon his retiring to private life, and not knowing how soon a more serious event might take place, he made this public declaration, and requested that it might be deposited in the office of the department of state, as a testimony of the truth to the present generation and to posterity.

---

*Extract of a letter written to GENERAL KNOX the day before the termination of his office, exhibiting the sentiments with which he contemplated this event, and with which he viewed the unceasing calumnies with which the whole administration continued to be aspersed.*

“To the wearied traveller who sees a resting place, and is bending his body to lean thereon, I now compare myself; but to be suffered to do *this* in peace, is too much to be endured by *some*. To misrepresent my motives; to reprobate my politics; and to weaken the confidence which has been reposed in my administration; are objects which cannot be relinquished by those who will be satisfied with nothing short of a change in our political system. The consolation, however, which results from conscious rectitude, and the approving voice of my country unequivocally expressed by its representatives—deprives their sting of its poison, and places in the same point of view both the weakness and malignity of their efforts.

“Although the prospect of retirement is most grateful to my soul, and I have not a wish to mix again in the great world, or to partake in its politics, yet I am not without my regrets at parting with (perhaps never more to meet) the few intimates whom I love. Among these, be assured you are one.”

On the 22d of March, 1797, general Washington took his farewell of all public employment, and left Philadelphia for his estate at Mount Vernon. In every town through which he passed on his way, he received the grateful and affectionate addresses which were so justly due to his merits from an enlightened and grateful people.

Having thus amply described the *august Washington* in his public character and official capacity, suffer us, for a moment, to follow him in private, and take a view of him in the character of a plain citizen in his rural residence at Mount Vernon.

The virtuous simplicity which distinguished the private life of general Washington, though less known than the dazzling splendour of his military achievements, is not less edifying in example, or worthy the attention of his countrymen. The conspicuous character he has acted on the theatre of human affairs, the uniform dignity with which he sustained his part amidst difficulties of the most discouraging nature, and the glory of having arrived through them at the hour of triumph, have made many official and literary persons, on both sides of the ocean, ambitious of a correspondence with him. These correspondences unavoidably engrossed a great portion of his time; and the communications contained in them, combined with the numerous periodical publications and newspapers which he perused, rendered him, as it were, the *focus of political intelligence for the new world*. Nor were his conversations with well informed men less conducive to bring him acquainted with the various events which happened in the different countries of the globe. Every foreigner of distinction, who travelled in America, made it a point to visit him. Members of congress and other dignified personages seldom passed his house without calling to pay their respects. As another source of information, it may be mentioned, that many literary productions were sent to him annually by their authors in Europe; and that there is scarcely one work written in America, on any art, science, or

subject, which did not seek his protection, or which was not offered to him as a token of gratitude. Mechanical inventions were frequently submitted to him for his approbation, and natural curiosities presented to him for his investigation. But the multiplicity of epistolary applications, often on the remains of some business which happened when he was in office, sometimes on subjects foreign to his situation, frivolous in their nature, and intended merely to gratify the vanity of the writers by drawing answers from him, were truly distressing and almost incredible. His benignity in answering, perhaps increased the number. Did he not husband every moment to the best advantage, it would not have been in his power to notice the vast variety of subjects that claimed his attention.

In his manner of living he was extremely regular, temperate and industrious. He rose winter and summer at the dawn of day, generally read or wrote some time before breakfast: breakfasted about seven o'clock, on Indian hoeecake and tea, and often rode immediately to his different farms, and remained with his labourers till a little after two o'clock, when he returned; at three he dined, commonly on a single dish, and drank from half a pint to a pint of Madeira wine; this, with one small dish of tea, which he took half an hour before the setting of the sun, constituted his whole sustenance till the next day. His table, however, was always furnished with elegance and exuberance, but was void of pomp; and whether he had company or not, he remained an hour at table in familiar conversation. His temper was of a serious cast, and his countenance carried the impression of thoughtfulness; yet he perfectly relished a pleasant story, an unaffected sally of wit, or a burlesque description. After dinner he applied himself to business, and about nine retired to rest; but when he had company he politely attended upon them till they wished to withdraw.—Agriculture was his favourite employment, he made observations on the produce of lands, and endeavoured to throw new light upon the business of the

farmer; linen and woollen cloths were manufactured under his roof, and order and economy were established in all his departments, both within and without doors. Mrs. Washington presided over the whole, and united to the qualities of an excellent farmer's wife, that simple dignity which ought to characterize a woman whose husband has acted so distinguished a part on the public theatre.—Such is the history of the private life of this great character.

In 1798, the unparalleled treatment which the American ministers received at Paris from the republic of France, left little ground to hope for any amicable accommodation with that republic, in consequence of which, the military forces of the United States were greatly augmented, and the president, with the advice of the senate, appointed *George Washington, lieutenant general and commander in chief of all the armies raised or to be raised by the United States*: this wise and judicious appointment was attended with the happiest effect, the virtue of a general so well experienced in war, established the national dignity and independence, and inspired the citizens with enthusiasm. On receiving the appointment, the general expressed a wish that it had fallen upon a man less advanced in years, and better qualified to encounter the vicissitudes of war; he resorted to his determination of closing his life in retirement and peace, but the conduct of the directory of France towards our country, he said, “excited in his breast corresponding sentiments with the rest of his countrymen,” in consequence of which, he accepted the appointment with this reserve, that “he should not be called into the field, until the army was in a situation to require his presence, or it became indispensable by the urgency of circumstances:” he informed the president, “he could not accept of any emolument annexed to the appointment, before entering into a situation to incur expense.”

He held this command, and contributed his advice and assistance towards the arrangement and organiza-

tion of the army until the 14th of December, 1799, when it pleased Divine Providence to remove him from this life; he was in his sixty-eighth year, and in the enjoyment of perfect health; the disorder of which he died, was an inflammatory sore throat, which proceeded from a slight cold.

On Friday, the 13th, he rode out to one of his plantations, and was much wet by the rain, on returning.—He was taken with the *croup* that night; but from humanity to his servants and tenderness to his physician, *very unfortunately* declined sending for medical aid, until day-light on Saturday morning.

Before Dr. Craik arrived at Mount Vernon, the general had been bled by one of his overseers. The doctor repeated the same immediately; to whom the general observed, “he had sent for him too late;” and seemed to have a presentiment of his dissolution; doctors Dick and Brown also attended.

As his respiration became difficult, he said calmly, “*Doctors, I die hard.*” But notwithstanding the excruciating agonies of his violent disease, he tranquilly asked several questions during the evening. About fifteen minutes before he died, (which was between 11 and 12 o’clock, on Saturday night, the 14th of December) he said to doctor Craik, “*Doctor, what is the clock? How long am I to continue in this situation?*” The doctor answered, “*Not long sir.*” He then rejoined, with the firmest countenance imaginable, “*I have no fear, doctor, to die.*”

Mrs. Washington was at the bed side with his family, and a number of domestics in the room. He would not wound their sensibility by taking a formal leave of any one.—At last his breathing grew shorter, *he closed his eyes and mouth with his own hands*, and expired! Thus did the last moments of this venerable man correspond with the whole tenor of his well spent life. He died with perfect resignation to the will of Heaven, and in full possession of his reason, not a groan or complaint escaped him!

His body was entombed, with solemn honours and funeral pomp, in the family vault, upon the estate of Mount Vernon, attended by the clergy, military, masonic brethren, and a numerous concourse of citizens.

Near the head of the coffin were inscribed the words *Surge ad Judicium*; about the middle, *Gloria Deo*; and, on the silver plate, *General George Washington departed this life 14th Dec. Ætat 68.*

Three general discharges by the artillery, cavalry, and infantry, paid the last tribute of respect to the entombed commander in chief of the American armies.

The sun was now setting—alas, the son of glory was set! No, the name of WASHINGTON will live for ever!

- From Vernon's Mount behold the hero rise;  
Resplendant forms attend him thro' the skies!  
The shades of war-worn veterans round him throng,  
And lead enwrap'd their honour'd chief along.  
A laurel wreath the immortal WARREN bears,  
An arch triumphal MERCER's hand prepares;  
Young LAURENS, erst th' avenging bolt of war,  
With port majestic, guides the glittering car;  
MONTGOMERY's godlike form directs the way,  
And GREENE unfolds the gates of endless day;  
Whilst angels, "trumpet-tongu'd," proclaim thro' air,  
"Due honours for THE FIRST OF MEN prepare!"

The melancholy intelligence of the death of general Washington, was every where received throughout the United States, with sensations of sorrow and regret; the houses of congress for a period adjourned; they condoled with the president of the United States, on the loss our country had sustained in the death of her worthiest citizen; they went in mourning, and requested the president to issue his proclamation, recommending the citizens throughout the union, to wear black crape on the left arm for thirty days; all the state assemblies followed the example: orders were issued from the war-office, navy department, &c. requesting the officers to wear crape, on the left arm for six months, and the vessels of the navy to put on mourning for one week, by wearing their colours half mast high.



Orders were issued by the direction of the president of the United States, announcing to the army the death of its *beloved chief*, and requested the military honours therein, specifying to be paid at the several stations of the army.

The senate and house of representatives of the United States enacted, "that a marble monument be erected in the capitol in the city of Washington, to the memory of general Washington; and that his family be requested, to permit his body to be deposited under it; and that the monument be so designed as to commemorate the great military and political events of his life. That there be a funeral procession, and a public oration delivered on the occasion." To the above resolution Mrs. Washington assented, sacrificing her private wishes and individual feelings to the public will. The public procession took place in Philadelphia, on Thursday, December the 26th; the ceremony was judiciously conducted; perhaps there never was a greater display of public mourning, solemnity, and respect, exhibited in the western hemisphere; the arrangements united every description of public and private character, civil and military; the funeral service, adapted with great solemnity to the occasion, was pronounced by bishop White, the deceased being of the episcopal church; after which, general Lee, who was appointed by congress for that purpose, delivered the funeral oration: we shall not attempt a report of this admirable eulogium, of which the public are already possessed, convinced that it would suffer by the attempt.

Having pursued this distinguished man throughout his public life and in his private retreat, it only now remains that we describe his person, which bears a very great analogy to the qualifications of his mind.

General Washington was a tall, well made man, rather above the common size; his frame was robust, and his constitution vigorous, and capable of enduring great fatigue. His features were manly and bold, and his eyes of a blueish cast, and very lively; his hair a deep brown, his face rather long and marked with the small-pox; his

complexion sun burnt, and without much colour, and his countenance sensible, composed, and thoughtful; there was a remarkable air of dignity about him, with a striking degree of gracefulness: he had an excellent understanding without much quickness; was strictly just, vigilant, and generous; as a military man, he was brave, enterprising, and cautious: an affectionate husband, a faithful friend, a father to the deserving; gentle in his manners, in temper rather reserved: a total stranger to religious prejudices, which have so often excited christians of one denomination to cut the throats of those of another; in his morals irreproachable; he was never known to exceed the bounds of the most rigid temperance: in a word, all his friends and acquaintance universally allow that no man ever united in his own person, a more perfect alliance of the virtues of a philosopher with the talents of a statesman and a general. Candour, sincerity, affability, and simplicity, seem to have been the striking features of his character. The best portraits ever taken of him, are those painted by the ingenious Mr. Stewart, of Germantown, and the best engraving is the large mezzotinto done by Mr. Savage, of Philadelphia.

Such is the life and character of the man to whom America entrusted her important cause, and she has had every reason to be satisfied with her choice; and most ungrateful would she be to the Great Disposer of human events, were she not to render him unremitting thanks for having provided her with such a citizen at such a crisis.

Most nations have been favoured with some patriotic deliverer.—The Israelites had their Moses; Rome had her Camillus; Greece her Leonidas; Sweden her Gustavus; and England her Hampdens, her Russels, and her Sydneys; but these illustrious heroes, though successful in preserving and defending their country, did not like WASHINGTON, form or establish an empire.

FINIS.



## SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES.

### KENTUCKY.

*Fayette county*—John Walker, Richard Downton, J. Pierson, John Rogers, Roy B. Flournoy, John Spears, Adam Rankin, Henry Ballace, C. McGowan, Samuel Vauvelt, David Montgomery, Robert Steele, James Logan, David B. Hill, John Wilgus, James Green.

*Winchester*—James Clark, Clark & Pelham, James Ritchie, C. K. Duncan, Jonathan Slamper, Thomas Pickett, Charles C. Duncan, George G. Taylor, Nimrod L. Finnell.

*Clark county*—John Riley, James Duncan, Rev. Robert Elkin.

*Mount Sterling*—John Jameson, jr. Cutbush Banks, J. T. Thompson, William Smith, J. Walls.

*Montgomery county*—Hon. Thomas Moseley, Maj. Daniel P. Moseley, Thomas I. Garrett, Amos Davis, Henry Smith, John Ramey, Thomas Harper, Samuel Ringo, Daniel Cunning, William Bridges, James Anderson, Joseph Young, Col. James McMillain, Hon. John R. Porter, James Harrow, Maj. Jno. Jameson, Will O'Rear, esq. James Milroy, Peter Mason, Enoch Smith, esq. Rev. James Payne, Leonard Cheatham, Joseph Long, Peter Ringo, jr. Archibald McElwain, Henry Ringo, jr. Joseph Simpson, esq. John Peebels, Jacob Sallee, Peter Helms, esq. Jilson Payne, W. Nelson, Capt. Thomas Jameson, jr.

*Versailles*—Peter C. Burk, John Mitcheron, R. D. Ship, James Dunnica, Benj. Vance, Granville P. Thomas, A. Loughery, J. W. Bryson, H. Watkins.

*Harrodsburgh*—George W. Thompson, Samuel B. Todd, J. B. Thompson, John Haggins, Robertson & McMurtrie (6 copies), Jesse Head, B. Moffin, J. B. White, Laurence McGuire (6 copies), James Tilford, Philip Trapnall, Joseph A. Woodson, James Taylor, Priestley H. McBride, John A. Gordon, Samuel Maccoun, H. Prather, Robert B. McAfee, William Armstrong, Geo. Foreman, Samuel Cull, Robert H. Davis, Dr. George Horrinc, Samuel Hart, T. T. Haggins.

*Mercer county*—James Smith, William McDowell, Edward Worthington, William V. Tunstall, Lemuel Dunn.

*Jessamine county*—J. McKinney, W. L. Smith, J. Peniston, Archer Webber.

*Paris*—Willis Young, S. Williams, J. Dudley, Innis B. Payne, Elijah Webb, Emanuel Wiatt, John Cummings, Boon Ingils, David Todd, William Heywood, C. Shelton, Ezra Howe, Thomas McCutchin, Tandy Allen, Ann Moore, Augustine Austin, William Scott.

*Bourbon county*—James Hughes, William Graves, Marth Brice, John Y. Brice, Solomon Yokeman, Abraham Keller, John Shawhan, John McCune, Manson Seamonds, William Biggs, Joseph Pugh, William Clarke, Augustine Eastin, Francis McKinney, George Northcutt.

*Ellisville*—James McClanahan, Andrew S. Hughs, Samuel K. Caldwell.

*Nicholas county*—Thomas Clarke, Esther Preter, S. Griffin, Laris H. Arnold.

*Millersburgh*—William Walton, William Boles, D. H. Kennet.

*Cynthiana*—A. F. McMillin, John L. Houston & Co. (5 copies), William M. Samuel, J. Boyde, Bela Metcalfe, W. Moore, Carter Anderson, E. Coleman, J. C. Frazier, Memorial Forest, Stephen M. Vanderen, A. Downing, William Fielding, A. Moore, William Johnston, B. Warfield, H. Boswell, James Hall, James Coleman, Zenas Payne, Squire D. Howell, James W. Baylor.

*Harrison county*—John R. Blair, William R. Wall, William S. Clarke, James Paton, Jesse Olds, James Kelly, William Coleman, Samuel Kiron, John Whitehead, Elijah Holton, William Walker, George Taylor.

*Augusta*—A. Keith, Martin Marshall, Thomas Nelson, John Payne, John Goodwin, John Boude, Robert Smith.

*Bath county*—Robert Morrow, James Hill, Peter G. Glover, Lawson Robertson, Nathaniel W. Ralls, Valentine Stone, Col. James M'Ilhenny, Rev. Charles Harper, Joseph Carter, John Leach, Martin Chestain, Hardage Smith.

*Fleming county*—Peter Lanterman, R. Andrews, John Miller, Matthias Croy, Jacob Helphinstine, Thomas Daugherty.

*Mason county*—William Triplett, Richard Mattenley, William Payne, John Mefford, James St. Clair, Isaac Thomas, James Thornton, James G. Arnold, J. Brown, Alexander Daugherty, J. Baily, Wm. Waddell, Withers Conway, George Berry, Solomon Froman, Josiah M'Graw, James Chiles, John Clifton, William Branough, Joseph Sinley, Robert Bogby, sen. Robert Bogby, jun.

*Mayslick*—George Galbreath, John Logan.

*Blueick*—David Ballingal, Thomas Jinkins.

*Washington*—Arthur J. Oneil, Dr. William O. Watts, James Byers, Edward Prentiss, John E. Vincent, Samuel Baldwin, Athelstan Owens, Isaac Adair, M. W. Owens, Willis H. Arnold, John Naylor, Edward Harris, sen. Robert Wilson, J. Morris & J. Samuel, Edward Harris, jun. James Frazer, James Ellis, Peyton Keys, William Murphy.

*Maysville*—William Porter, William Martin, John Roe, William Trueman, Stephen Lee, Basil Burgis, Johnson Armstrong, John W. Lieleston, Adam M'Ferran, William M'Clelland, J. H. Corwin, Samuel D. Whimer.

*Nicholasville*—James Nutle, Wile Walker, Joseph M'Guffin.

*Frankfort*—William P. S. Blair, Thomas Gainer, Richard Taylor, Oliver C. Porter, R. Herrald, James W. Byrne, Elliott Bohannon, jun. Arthur Williamson, John M'Grew, Gerard Van Beuren, Robert Johnston, Benjamin Clark, Benjamin Luckett, Johnson & Milam, Newton Fox, William Gerard, John P. Thomas, David W. Price, G. Battrell, Joseph Cayton, Benjamin Finnell, Edmund Bacon, John H. Smart, Willis A. Lee, Joel Pace, M. R. Nowland, Hugh M. Allen, Robert Miller, Matteo R. Natand, Job Sharpe.

*Shelby county*—Thomas S. M'Gaughy, J. & J. Bradshaw, John M. Allen, Joseph M. Knight, G. Smith.

*Danville*—Bast & Youcé, John Cochrane, John Erwin, A. J. Caldwell, Jeremiah Clemens, J. G. Birney, Richard Davenport, William Crutchfield, Seth Owsby, J. Chadbourne, Ezra Williams, Thomas Hawthorn, Ephraim M'Dowel, Jeremiah Fisher, William M'Calla, Joshua Nichols, Giles Andrew, David G. Cowan, John Rochester, W. Moore, Michael Hope.

*Louisville*—Charles L. Hanigan, Isaac Stewart & Co. G. Grey, G. R. C. Floyd, Carter Beamon, Richard A. Maupin, A. B. Gill, Dr. Benjamin Adams, Richard Ferguson, John Lasden, A. R. Freeman, J. L. Murray, L. F. Linn, James M'Crum, Thomas Glass, Philip R. Gray, Wesley W. Keas, C. B. Powell, J. Pattoner, Robert Todd, Robert H. Harden, J. Rothwell, Speake & Bolton, Samuel Dickinson & Co. (12 copies), C. T. Bullitt, C. Mercer, G. I. Johnson.

*Georgetown*—James Theobald, R. Hanna, John Whitney, A. M'Coy & W. Sanderson, T. Barnham, William Hunter, George Brown, Smallwood Noel, James H. Mahony, William Brooks, Lynn West, William Eastham, W. Henry, A. Holman.

*Russelville*—George W. Whitaker, J. B. Biggs, Benjamin W. Edwards, William Norton, Justinian Williams, John Roberts, Thomas Patton, Samuel W. Linebaugh, Richard Y. Hiten, Amos Edwards.

*Elizabethtown*—S. Stephenson, Gabriel Wathen, W. S. Young, J. Crutcher, J. Redman.

*Bardstown*—Thomas Q. Roberts, Henry Unseld, William P. Hynes, Samuel M'Lean, Benjamin Grayson, John M. Harvey, Benjamin Meason, William Bard (10 copies), A. Anthony, Richard Head.

*Newport*—Archibald Moore, David Perry, James Taylor, R. Southgate.

*Boon county*—Abner Gano.

*Pendleton county*—William Barnes, James Theobald, J. Norton, W. Arnold.

*Scott county*—William Nelson, Mary Hunter, P. B. Stevenson, W. Warren.

*Germantown*—Anderson Doniphan.

*Estill county*—Cornelius Newkirk.

*Lancaster*—Joseph C. Keane, Joshua Jacobs, Barney Young.

*Gurgett county*—James Hutchinson.

*Lincoln county*—G. Myers, Joseph Duncan, Samuel Engleman, W. Warren.

*Casey county*—John Henderson.

*Jefferson county*—Shingley Ross, Jacob Geiger, Thomas W. Thruston, D. F. Strothers, Richard Taylor, Frederick Geiger, sen.

*Middleton*—A. W. Pope.

*Glasgow*—Matthew Woodson.

*Washington county*—William Pottenger.

*Hardin county*—Adin Coombs.

*Bowlinggreen*—P. R. Beauchamp, Samuel S. M'Dowell, J. M. Hubbard.

*Springfield*—Daniel Thompson, A. E. Gibbons.

*Warren county*—Robert Herreld.

*Butler county*—Oliver C. Porter.

*Stanford*—Samuel H. Craig.

*Logan county*—Charles Morehead.

*Madison county*—Gen. Green Clay.

*Gallatin county*—Henry R. Roberts.

*Greenup county*—John T. Thompson.

## OHIO.

*Chillicothe*—John Runkle, Higgins & Abrams, John R. Stokes, Jonathan Monroe, Samuel Ewings, John Dunn, James M'Dougal, John Carlisle (5 cops.) James Foster (5 copies), Robert D. Richardson, Samuel Graham, George Smith, White & Gruber, James Miller, John G. Macan, Benj. Hough, Thos. Drake, jun. Richard Armstrong, J. Johnson, Balau Nichols, Barnett Louman, John Armstrong, John Andrews, John Greenwood, John M'Dougal, Daniel M'Callister, John P. Campbell, Peter Spurck, jun. James Monett, Henry Johnston, Samuel M'Pherrin, John Bailhache (10 copies), William Robinson, William Creighton, jun. Thomas S. Hinde, Levi Anderson, Othniel Looker, Jesse M'Kay, S. Swearingen, James Howard, W. K. Bond, Joseph Shepherd, Joseph Clarke, Humphrey Fullerton, Peter Fortney, Alexander Cummins, Joseph Barton, George Nashee, Robert G. Wilson, Thomas Steel, Robert C. Ford, Merlin Howard, John Stewart, James Barnes.

*Ross county*—Stephen Berry, T. Kinkead, jun. George O'Briant, Benjamin Doddridge, William Vance, Henry Shrop, Robert Adams, George Frint, Gavin Johnston, Gasper Plyly, Aaron Foster, Samuel K. Collier.

*Clermont*—William Forsythe, A. Baldwin, Lines Pangburne, Jas. Thomson, Francis Daugherty, Robert Stewart, Thomas Morris, John Ligget, Thomas Cunick, Elisha Walls, George Shultz.

*West-Union*—Walter Wheatley, J. Hayslip, Leonard Cole, Wm. Ginnings.

*Highland county*—B. Urmston, J. Johnson, J. Mitchel, S. White, C. N. Clifton.

*Adams county*—Evan Campbell, Jeremiah Ellis, Wm. Lawson, J. Bartley, Elijah Kimble, William Graham, Nathan Rounsavell, Thomas Hull, M. C. Van S. Brady, John Gennings, John Jordan, Matthew R. Kinkad, Samuel Haslem, Charles C. Chunn, W. M. Stewart & W. C. Boggers, James Stewart, Elijah Martin, John C. Finley, Spencer Records, John Forsythe, Wm. Henry, Samuel Bonde, James Stephenson, John Petty John, Nathaniel Beasley, Thos. Harris, Buddy Shelton, Samuel M'Person, James Marshall, Lewis Coryell, John Wood, Archibald Beckwith.

*Xenia*—Isaac Cox.

*Clinton county*—William Biggs, esq. Aaron Sewell, Robert Porter.

*Lebanon*—R. Porter, W. M'Clean, T. Freeman, M. Corwin, jr. W. Edwards.

*Warren county*—Isaac Covert, Jacob Madison, Edward Thomas, Patrick Shaw, David Fox, jun. Isaac Phillips, William M'Donald, Clark Baker.

*Butler county*—Peter Pindal.

*Cincinnati*—Robert Hewes, J. S. Looker, William Grenough, Job Pugh, Thomas D. King, Adam Moore, William W. Shellers, William W. Gazlay, Burrows Smith, Edwin B. Smith, A. Burt, Thomas Dugan, James Conn, Presley Hemper, Thomas Sullivan, John Dunseath, Samuel Stout, Dennis Kelley, William L. Bradley, Edward Horrocks, M. S. Petit, Israel Byers, Thomas Williams, John Moores, James Wright, W. R. Goodwin, Michael Scott, Jas. C. Ludlow, Luccama Zeigler, George P. Tarrence, William Mansun, Samuel M'Guilkin, James Hurdus, William Hamilton, Sedgwick Marble, Alexander Simpson, George Lercow, E. Morgan, Joel Williams, William Lytle, John Wood, D. Summes, Daniel Dudley, R. Allison, Josiah Halley, John G. Tilford, Benjamin Drake, Barzillai Basley, Josiah H. Webb.

*Hamilton county*—John Boles, John Riddle, Jacob Williams, Clark Bates, Andrew Mark, John Ludlow, Simon Hailman, William Wilson, Providence White, Abraham Voorhees, Jacob Voorhees, Mary Williams, Abraham Chase, Elias Thompson.

## TENNESSEE.

*Nashville*—J. B. Hamilton, A. Hynes, Felix Robertson, George Bedford, F. Wheatley, Ephraim H. Foster, W. W. Cooke, M. Norvell, Thomas Childress, William Donnison, William Carroll.

*Springfield*—W. S. Bradburn.

*Gallatin*—Patrick Darby.

*Davidson*—Pleasant Craadock.

*Franklin*—Eli M'Gan, Benjamin Carter, D. Squire, K. P. Boss.

## INDIANA TERRITORY.

*Franklin*—Robert Hanna jun. Thos. Brown, Enoch M'Carty, John R. Braly, Benj. Smith.

*Brooksville*—Wm. H. Eads.

*Jeffersonville*—Waller Taylor, Edmund H. Taylor, Samuel Mahoney, John Gibson, Robert A. New, Thomas Posey, J. Lumon.

*Evans*—George G. Knox.

## CHAPTER XVII.

*Campaign of 1779.*

**THROUGHOUT** the year 1779, the British seem to have aimed at little more, in the states to the northward of Carolina, than distress and depredation. Having publicly announced their resolution of making "The colonies of as little avail as possible to their new connexions," they planned sundry expeditions on this principle.

One of these consisting of both a naval and land force, was committed to sir George Collyer, and general Mathews, who made a descent on Virginia. May 10. They sailed for Portsmouth, and on their arrival took possession of that defenceless town. The remains of Norfolk on the opposite side of the river, fell of course into their hands. The Americans burned some of their own vessels, but others were made prizes by the invaders. The British guards marched 18 miles in the night, and arriving at Suffolk by morning, proceeded to the destruction of vessels, naval stores, and of a large magazine of provisions, which had been deposited in that place. A similar destruction was carried on at Kemp's landing, Shepherds-gosport, Tanners creek, and other places in the vicinity. The frigates and armed vessels were employed on the same business along the margin of the rivers. Three thousand hogsheads of tobacco were taken at Portsmouth. Every house in Suffolk was burnt except the church, and one dwelling house. The houses of several private gentlemen in the country, shared the same fate. Above 130 vessels were either destroyed or taken. All that were upon the stocks were burned, and every thing relative to the building or fitting of ships, was either carried off or destroyed. The fleet and army after



demolishing fort Nelson, and setting fire to the store-houses, and other public buildings in the dockyard at Gosport, embarked from Virginia, and returned with their prizes and booty safe to New-York, in the same month in which they had left it. This expedition into Virginia distressed a number of its inhabitants, and enriched the British forces, but was of no real service to the royal cause. It was presumed that by involving the citizens in losses and distress, they would be brought to reflect on the advantages of submitting to a power, against which they had not the means of defending themselves: but the temper of the times was unfavourable to these views. Such was the high toned state of the American mind, that property had comparatively lost its value. It was fashionable to suffer in the cause of independence. Some hearty whigs gloried in their losses, with as much pride as others gloried in their possessions. The British supposing the Americans to be influenced by the considerations which bias men in the languid scenes of tranquil life, and not reflecting on the sacrifices which enthusiastic patriotism is willing to make, proceeded in their schemes of distress: but the more extensively they carried on this mode of warfare, the more obstacles they created to the reunion of the empire. In about five weeks after the termination of the expedition to Virginia, a similar one was projected against the exposed margin of Connecticut. Governor Tryon was appointed to the command of about 2600 land forces, employed on this business, and he was supported by general Garth. The transports which conveyed these troops, were covered by a

July 5.     suitable number of armed vessels, commanded by sir George Collyer. They proceeded from New-York, by the way of Hell-gate, and landed at East-Haven. The royal commanders made an address to the

inhabitants, in which they invited them to return to their duty and allegiance, and promised protection to all who should remain peaceably in their usual place of residence, except the civil and military officers of the government. It also stated "that their property lay still within the grasp of that power, whose lenity had persisted in its mild and noble efforts, though branded with the most unworthy imputation. That the existence of a single house on their defenceless coast, ought to be a constant reproof of their ingratitude. That they who lay so much in the British power, afforded a striking monument of their mercy, and therefore ought to be set the first example of returning to their allegiance."

One of the many addresses, from which the above extract is taken, was sent by a flag to colonel Whiting of the militia near Fairfield. The colonel was allowed an hour for his answer, but he had scarcely time to read it before the town was in flames. He nevertheless returned the following answer: "Connecticut, having nobly dared to take up arms against the cruel despotism of Great-Britain, and the flames having preceded the answer of your flag, they will persist to oppose to the utmost, the power exerted against injured innocence." The British marched from their landing to New-Haven. The town on their entering it, was delivered up to promiscuous plunder, a few instances of protection excepted. The inhabitants were stripped of their household furniture and other moveable property. The harbour and water side was covered with feathers, which were discharged from opened beds. An aged citizen who laboured under a natural inability of speech, had his tongue cut out by one of the royal army. After perpetrating every species of enormity, but that of burning houses, the invaders suddenly reembarked and proceeded by water to Fairfield.

The militia of that place and the vicinity, posted themselves at the court-house green, and gave considerable annoyance to them, as they were advancing, but soon retreated to the height back of the town. On the approach of the British the town was evacuated by most of its inhabitants. A few women remained, with the view of saving their property. They imagined, that their sex would protect them. They also reposed confidence in an enemy who they knew had been formerly famed for humanity and politeness, but they bitterly repented their presumption. Parties of the royal army entered the deserted houses of the inhabitants, broke open desks, trunks, closets and chests, and took every thing of value that came in their way. They robbed the women of their buckles, rings, bonnets, aprons and handkerchiefs. They abused them with the foulest language, threatened their lives, and presented the bayonets to their breasts. A sucking infant was plundered of part of its cloathing, while the bayonet was presented to the breast of its mother. Towards evening, they began to burn the houses which they had previously plundered. The women begged general Tryon to spare the town. Mr. Sayre, the episcopal minister, who had suffered for his attachment to the royal cause, joined the women in their requests, but their joint supplications were disregarded. They then begged, that a few houses might be spared for a general shelter. This was at first denied, but at length Tryon consented to save the buildings of Mr. Burr and Mr. Elliot, and also said, that the houses for public worship should be spared. After his departure on the next morning with the main body, the rear guard, consisting of German yau-gers, set fire to every thing which Tryon had spared, but on their departure the inhabitants extinguished the flames, and saved some of the houses. The militia were

joined by numbers from the country which successively came in to their aid, but they were too few to make effectual opposition.

The British in this excursion also burned East-Haven, and the greatest part of Green's farms, and the flourishing town of Norwalk. A considerable number of ships, either finished or on the stocks, with whale-boats, and a large amount of stores and merchandize, were destroyed. Particular accounts of these devastations were, in a short time, transmitted by authority to congress. By these it appeared, that there were burnt at Norwalk, two houses of public worship, 80 dwelling houses, 87 barns, 22 stores, 17 shops, 4 mills, and five vessels; and at Fairfield, two houses of public worship, 15 dwelling houses, 11 barns, and several stores. There were at the same time a number of certificates transmitted to general Washington, in which sundry persons of veracity bore witness on oath to various acts of brutality, rapine and cruelty, committed on aged persons, women and prisoners. Congress, on receiving satisfactory attestation of the ravages of the British in this and other similar expeditions, resolved "To direct their marine committee to take the most effectual July 19. measures, to carry into execution their manifesto of October 30th, 1778, by burning or destroying the towns belonging to the enemy, in Great-Britain or the West-Indies;" but their resolve was never carried into effect.

The elder citizens of the United States, who had grown up with habits of love and attachment to the British nation, felt the keenest sensations of regret, when they contrasted the years 1759 and 1779. The former was their glory, when in the days of their youth, they were disposed to boast of the honours of their

common country, but the latter filled them with distress, not only for what they suffered, but for the degradation of a country they revered as the natal soil of their forefathers. The one ennobled the British name with the conquest of Crown-Point, Oswego, Montreal, Quebec, and the whole province of Canada. The other was remarkable only for the burning of magazines, store-houses, dock-yards, the towns of Fairfield and Norwalk, and for the general distress of a defenceless peasantry.

The fires and destruction which accompanied this expedition, were severely censured by the Americans, and apologized for by the British in a very unsatisfactory manner. The latter in their vindication, alleged that the houses which they had burned gave shelter to the Americans, while they fired from them, and on other occasions concealed their retreat.

Tryon, who was a civil governor as well as a general, undertook the justification of the measure, on principles of policy. "I should be very sorry," said he, "if the destruction of these villages would be thought less reconcileable with humanity, than the love of my country, my duty to the king, and the laws of arms. The usurpers have professedly placed their hopes of severing the empire, in avoiding decisive actions, upon the waste of the British treasures, and upon the escape of their own property during the protracting of the war. Their power is supported by the general dread of their tyranny and threats, practised to inspire a credulous multitude, with a presumptuous confidence in our forbearance. I wish to detect this delusion." These devastations were the subject of an elegant poem, written on the spot a few days after, by colonel Humphries.

While the British were proceeding in these desolating

operations, general Washington was called upon for continental troops, but he could spare very few. He durst not detach largely, as he apprehended that one design of the British in these movements was to draw off a proportion of his army from West-Point, to favour an intended attack on that important post. General Parsons, though closely connected with Connecticut, and though from his small force he was unable to make successful opposition to the invaders, yet instead of pressing general Washington for a large detachment of continental troops, wrote to him as follows: "The British may probably distress the country exceedingly, by the ravages they will commit; but I would rather see all the towns on the coast of my country in flames, than that the enemy should possess West-Point."

The inhabitants feared much more than they suffered. They expected that the whole margin of their country, 120 miles in extent, would suffer the fate of Fairfield and Norwalk. The season of the year added much to their difficulties, as the close attention of the farmers to their harvesting could not be omitted, without hazarding their subsistence. These fears were not of long duration. In about ten days after the landing of the British troops, an order was issued for their immediate return to New-York. This they effected in a short time, and with a loss so inconsiderable, that in the whole expedition, it did not exceed 150 men.

While the British were successfully making these desultory operations, the American army was incapable of covering the country. The former, having by means of their superior marine force, the command of the numerous rivers, bays and harbours of the United States, had it in their power to make descents, where they pleased, with an expedition that could not be equalled by the

August. American land forces. Had general Washington divided his army, conformably to the wishes of the invaded citizens, he would have subjected his whole force to be cut up in detail. It was therefore his uniform practice, to risque no more by way of covering the country than was consistent with the general safety.

His army was posted at some distance from the British head quarters in New-York, and on both sides of the North-River. The van thereof, consisting of 300 infantry and 150 cavalry, under the command of colonel Anthony Walton White, patrolled constantly, for several months, in front of the British lines, and kept a constant watch on the Sound and on the North-River. This corps had sundry skirmishes with parties of the British, and was particularly useful in checking their excursions, and in procuring and communicating intelligence of their movements.

About this time, general Putnam, who had been stationed with a respectable command at Reading, in Connecticut, when on a visit to his out-post at Horse-Neck, was attacked by governor Tryon, with about 1500 men. General Putnam had only a picket of 150 men, and two iron field pieces, without horses or drag-ropes. He however planted his cannon on the high ground, near the meeting-house, and by several fires retarded the advancing enemy, and continued to make opposition till he perceived the enemy's horse, supported by the infantry, were about to charge. General Putnam, after ordering the picket to provide for their safety, by retiring to a swamp, inaccessible to horse, plunged down the precipice at the church. This is so steep as to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly one hundred stone steps, for the accommodation of foot passengers. The dragoons stopped short, without venturing down the abrupt

declivity, and before they got round the brow of the hill, Putnam was far enough beyond their reach; of the many balls that were fired at him, all missed except one, which went through his hat. He proceeded to Stamford, and having strengthened his picket with some militia, faced about and pursued governor Tryon on his return.

The campaign of 1779, though barren of important events, was distinguished by one of the most gallant enterprizes which took place in the course of the war. This was the capture of Stoney-Point, on the North-River. General Wayne, who had the honour of conducting this enterprize, set out at the head of <sup>July 15.</sup> a strong detachment of the most active infantry in the American army, at noon, and completed a march of about 14 miles, over bad roads, by eight o'clock in the evening. The detachment being then within a mile and a half of its object, was halted and formed into columns. The general, with a few of his officers, advanced and reconnoitered the works. At half past eleven, the whole moved forward to the attack. The van of the right, consisting of 150 volunteers under the command of lieutenant colonel Fleury, advanced with unloaded muskets, and fixed bayonets. These were preceded by 20 picked men, who were particularly instructed to remove the abbatiss and other obstructions. The van of the left was led by major Stewart, and advanced with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. It was also preceded by a similar forlorn hope. The general placed himself at the head of the right column, and gave the most pointed orders not to fire, but to depend solely on the bayonet. The two columns directed their attacks to opposite points of the works, while a detachment engaged the attention of the garrison, by a feint in their front. The



approaches were more difficult than had been apprehended. The works were defended by a deep morass, which was also, at that time, overflowed by the tide. Neither the morass, the double row of abbatis, nor the strength of the works, damped the ardour of the assailants. In the face of a most tremendous fire of musketry, and of cannon loaded with grape-shot, they forced their way, at the point of the bayonet, through every obstacle, until both columns met in the centre of the works, at nearly the same instant. General Wayne, as he passed the last abbatis, was wounded in the head by a musket ball, but nevertheless insisted on being carried forward, adding as a reason for it, that "if he died he wished it might be in the fort." Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, who led the forlorn hope, escaped unhurt, although the first lost 17 men out of 20, and the last nearly as many. The killed and wounded of the Americans amounted to 98. The killed of the garrison were 63, and the number of their prisoners 543. Two flags, two standards, 15 pieces of ordnance, and a considerable quantity of military stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The vigour and spirit with which this enterprize was conducted, was matter of triumph to the Americans. Congress gave their thanks to general Washington, "For the vigilance, wisdom and magnanimity with which he had conducted the military operations of the states, and which were among many other signal instances, manifested in his orders for the above enterprize." They also gave thanks to general Wayne, and ordered a medal, emblematical of the action, to be struck, and one of gold to be presented to him. They directed a silver one to be presented to lieutenant colonel Fleury, and also to major Stewart. At the same time, they passed general resolutions in honour of the

officers and men, but particularly designating lieutenant-colonel Fleury, major Stewart, lieutenants Gibbons and Knox. To the two latter, and also to Mr. Archer, the general's volunteer aid de camp, they gave the rank of captain. The clemency shewn to the vanquished, was universally applauded. The customs of war, and the recent barbarities at Fairfield and Norwalk, would have been an apology for the conquerors, had they put the whole garrison to the sword; but the assailants, no less generous than brave, ceased to destroy as soon as their adversaries ceased to resist. Upon the capture of Stony-Point, the victors turned its artillery against Verplank's Point, and fired upon it with such effect, that the shipping in its vicinity cut their cables and fell down the river. As soon as the news of these events reached New-York, preparations were instantly made to relieve the latter post and to recover the former. It by no means accorded with the cautious prudence of general Washington, to risque an engagement for either or for both of them. He therefore removed the cannon and stores, destroyed the works, and evacuated the captured post. Sir Henry Clinton regained possession of Stony-Point, on the third day after its capture, and placed in it a strong garrison.

The successful enterprize of the Americans at Stony-Point, was speedily followed by another, which equalled it in boldness of design. This was the surprize of the British garrison at Powles-Hook, <sup>July 19.</sup> opposite to New-York, which was effected by major Lee, with about 350 men. Major Sutherland, the commandant, with a number of Hessians, got off safe to a small block-house on the left of the fort, but about 30 of his men were killed and 160 taken prisoners. The loss of the Americans was inconsiderable. Major Lee, in

conformity to the orders he had received, made an immediate retreat, without waiting to destroy either the barracks or the artillery. Congress honoured him with their thanks, and ordered a medal of gold, emblematical of the affair to be struck, and presented to him as a reward "for his prudence, address and bravery." They also passed resolutions applauding his humanity, and expressing their high sense of the good conduct of his troops, and at the same time, ordered a considerable donation in money, to be distributed among them.

These advantages were more than counterbalanced, by an unsuccessful attempt made by the state of Massachusetts, on a British post at Penobscot. Colonel Maclean, by the direction of sir Henry Clinton, landed with a detachment of 650 men from Halifax, on  
June 16. the banks of the Penobscot river, in the eastern confines of New-England, and proceeded soon after to construct a fort in a well chosen situation. This occasioned an alarm at Boston. To counteract the establishment of the post, vigorous measures were resolved upon. That armed vessels, transports and sailors might be secured for an expedition, which was immediately projected for this purpose, an embargo for forty days was laid by the state of Massachusetts, on all their shipping. A considerable armament, consisting of 18 armed vessels, besides transports, was fitted out with extraordinary expedition, and put under the command of commodore Saltonstall. The largest vessel in this fleet, was the Warren of 32 guns, 18 and 12 pounders. The others varied from 24 to 12 guns. A body of land forces commanded by general Lovel, embarked on this expedition. On the 25th of July, the American fleet, consisting of 37 sail appeared off Penobscot. Colonel Maclean had four days before gained information of what was

intended against him. This induced him to redouble his exertions in strengthening his fort, which was in an unfinished state. Two of the bastions were untouched. The remaining two were in no part above 4 or 5 feet high. The ditch was only about 3 feet deep. There was no platform laid, nor any artillery mounted. The American general on his landing, summoned the colonel to surrender, which being refused, he proceeded to erect a battery at the distance of 750 yards. A cannonading commenced, and was kept up for about a fortnight, but without any considerable effect. While the besiegers were making preparations for an assault, which they had in immediate contemplation, sir George Collyer appeared full in view, with a squadron for the relief of the garrison. He had sailed from Sandy-Hook, on hearing of the intended attack on Aug. 3. colonel Maclean's party, and in about eleven days arrived in the river Penobscot. His marine force consisted of the *Raisonable* of 64 guns, and five frigates. The Americans at first made a shew of resistance, but they intended no more than to give the transports time to move up the river, that the troops might have an opportunity of landing, and making their escape. The superior force and weight of metal of the *Raisonable* was irresistible, and the escape of the Americans was impracticable. A general flight on the one side, and a general chase on the other took place. Sir George destroyed and took 17 or 18 armed vessels. The American soldiers and sailors had to return a great part of their way by land, and to explore their route through thick woods.

While the war languished as to great objects in the country where it originated, it was raging on a new element and involving distant countries in its wide

spreading flame. Hostilities between the fleets of France and Great-Britain, were carrying on in both the Indies, and in the European seas, as well as on the coast of America. His most catholic majesty was also, about this time, induced to take a decided part with France against Great-Britain.

To the surprize of many, the marquis D'Almodovar, the Spanish ambassador, delivered a manifesto June 16. to lord viscount Weymouth, amounting to a declaration of war against Great-Britain. This event had often been predicted by the minority in the British parliament, but disbelieved by the ministry. The latter reasoned "that Spain could have no interest in joining their adversaries.—That she had colonies of her own, and could not set so bad an example to them, as to give any countenance to the Americans. It was also said that Spain was naturally attached to Great-Britain, and unable to enter into war." They were so far imposed upon by their eagerness to effect the conquest of the United States, as to believe that to be true which they wished to be so. The event proved, that the politics of sovereign powers, are not reducible to fixed principles. Sometimes one interest clashes with another, and it is not always the case that the strongest preponderates. Whether the influence of the French counsels, or the prospect of recovering Gibraltar, Jamaica and the two Floridas, or the pressure of recent injuries determined the court of Spain to adopt this measure, it is impossible with certainty to decide, but circumstances make it probable, that the hope of regaining Gibraltar and Jamaica, was the principal inducement.

The situation of Great-Britain was at this time truly distressing. She was weakened and distracted in a domestic contest, in which victory produced no advantages;

but defeat all its natural effects. In the midst of this wasting contest, in which her ability to reduce her revolted colonies, though without foreign aid, was doubtful, she was suddenly involved in a new and much more dangerous war with one of the greatest powers in Europe. At this very time while she was engaged in this double warfare, against old friends and old enemies, his most catholic majesty added his force to that of her numerous foes.

In this situation a direktion of the American war was recommended by some leading characters in the nation, but every proposition of that kind was overruled, and assurances from both houses of parliament were given to his majesty "to support him in carrying on the war against all his enemies."

From these events, which only affected the United States as far as they encreased the embarrassments of Great-Britain, I return to relate the transactions which took place within their own limits. In the year 1779, though the war was carried on for little more than distress or depredation in the northern states, the reestablishment of British government was seriously attempted in Carolina and Georgia. After the reduction of Savannah, a great part of state of Georgia was restored to the king's peace. The royal army in that quarter was strengthened by a numerous reinforcement from East-Florida, and the whole was put under the command of major general Prevost. The force then in Georgia gave a serious alarm to the adjacent states. There were at that time but few continental troops in Georgia or South-Carolina, and scarce any in North-Carolina, as during the late tranquillity in the southern states, they had been detached to serve in the main army commanded by general Washington. A body of mi-

litia was raised and sent forward by North-Carolina to aid her neighbours. These joined the continental troops, but not till they had retreated out of Georgia, and taken post in South-Carolina. Towards the close of the year 1778, general Lincoln, at the request of the delegates of South-Carolina, was appointed by congress, to take the command of their southern army.

This consisted only of a few hundred continentals. To supply the deficiency of regular soldiers, a considerable body of militia was ordered to join him, but they added much more to his numbers than to his effective force.

They had not yet learned the implicit obedience necessary for military operations. Accustomed to activity on their farms, they could not bear the languor of an encampment. Having grown up in habits of freedom and independence, they reluctantly submitted to martial discipline. The royal army at Savannah being reinforced by the junction of the troops from St. Augustine, was in condltion to extend their posts. Their first object was to take possession of Port-Royal, in South-Carolina. Major Gardiner, with two hundred men being detached with this view, landed on the island, but general Moultrie, at the head of an equal number of Americans, in which there were only nine regular soldiers, attacked and drove him off it. This advantage was principally gained by two field pieces, which were well served by a party of Charleston militia artillery. The British lost almost all their officers. The Americans had eight men killed and 22 wounded. Among the former, was lieutenant Benjamin Wilkins, an artillery officer of great merit, and a citizen of distinguished virtue, whose early fall deprived a numerous family of their chief support. He was the first officer of South-Caroli-

na who lost his life in supporting its independence. This repulse restrained the British from attempting any immediate enterprize to the northward of Sayannah, but they fixed posts at Ebenezer and Augusta, and extended themselves over a great part of Georgia. They also endeavoured to strengthen themselves by reinforcements from the Tories, in the western settlements of Georgia and Carolina.

Emissaries were sent among the inhabitants of that description, to encourage them to a general insurrection, they were assured that if they embodied and added their force to that of the king's army in Georgia, they would have such a decided superiority as would make a speedy return to their homes practicable, on their own terms. Several hundreds of them accordingly rendezvoused, and set off to join the royal forces at Augusta. Among those who called themselves loyalists, there were many of the most infamous characters. Their general complexion was that of a plundering banditti, more solicitous for booty, than for the honour and interest of their royal master. At every period before the war, the western wilderness of these states which extended to the Mississippi, afforded an asylum for the idle or disorderly, who disrelished the restraints of civil society. While the war raged, the demands of militia duty and of taxes contributed much to the peopling of those remote settlements, by holding out prospects of exemption from the controul of government. Among these people the royal emissaries had successfully planted the standard of loyalty, and of that class was a great proportion of those, who in the upper country of the Carolinas and Georgia, called themselves the king's friends. They had no sooner embodied and begun their march to join the royal army at Augusta, than they commenced such a scene of plundering of



the defenceless settlements through which they passed, as induced the orderly inhabitants to turn out to oppose them. Colonel Pickens, with about 300 men of the latter character, immediately pursued, and came up with them near Kettle creek. An action took place, which lasted three quarters of an hour. The Tories were totally routed. About forty of them were killed, and in that number was their leader colonel Boyd, who had been secretly employed by British authority to collect and head them. By this action the British were disconcerted. The Tories were dispersed. Some ran quite off. Others went to their homes, and cast themselves on the mercy of their country. These were tried by the laws of South-Carolina for offending against an act called the sedition act, which had been passed since the revolution for the security of the new government. Seventy of them were condemned to die, but the sentence was only executed on five of their ringleaders.

As the British extended their posts on the Georgia side of Savannah river, general Lincoln fixed encampments at Black-Swamp, and nearly opposite to Augusta on the Carolina side. From these posts he formed a plan of crossing into Georgia, with a view of limiting the British to the low country, near the ocean. In the execution of this design, general Ash with 1500 North-Carolina militia and a few regular troops, after crossing the river Savannah, took a position on Briar creek; but in a few days he was surprized by lieutenant colonel Prevost, who having made a circuitous march of  
May 3. about 50 miles, came unexpectedly on his rear with about 900 men. the militia were thrown into confusion, and fled at the first fire. One hundred and fifty of the Americans were killed, and 162 were taken. Few had any chance of escaping but by crossing the Savan-

nah, in attempting which many were drowned. Of those who got off safe, a great part returned home. The number that rejoined the American camp did not exceed 450 men. The few continentals under colonel Elbert made a brave resistance, but the survivors of them, with their gallant leader, were at last compelled to surrender. This event deprived general Lincoln of one fourth of his numbers, and opened a communication between the British, the Indians, and the tories of North and South-Carolina.

Unexperienced in the art of war, the Americans were subject to those reverses of fortune, which usually attend young soldiers. Unacquainted with military stratagems, deficient in discipline, and not thoroughly broken to habits of implicit obedience, they were often surprized, and had to learn by repeated misfortunes the necessity of subordination, and the advantages of watchfulness and discipline. Their numbers in the field, to those who are acquainted with European wars, must appear inconsiderable; but such is the difference of the state of society and of the population in the old and new world, that in America, a few hundreds decided objects of equal magnitude of those which in Europe would have called into the field as many thousands. The prize contended for was nothing less than the sovereignty of three millions of people, and of five hundred millions of acres of land, and yet from the remote situation of the invading powers, and the thin population of the invaded states, especially in the southern extreme of the union, this momentous question was materially affected by the consequences of battles, in which only a few hundreds engaged.

The series of disasters which had followed the American arms since the landing of the British near Savannah, occasioned well founded apprehensions for the

safety of the adjacent states. The militia of South-Carolina was therefore put on a better footing, and a regiment of cavalry was raised. John Rutledge, a Carolinian of most distinguished abilities, was called to the chair of government by an almost unanimous vote, and in imitation of the ancient republic of Rome, invested, in conjunction with his council, with dictatorial powers. By virtue of his authority, he convened a large body of the militia near the centre of the state, that they might be in constant readiness to march whithersoever public service required. The original plan of penetrating into Georgia was resumed. Part of the American force was stationed on the north side of the Savannah, at Purrysburgh and Black-swamp, while general Lincoln and the main army crossed into Georgia, near Augusta. General Prevost availed himself of the critical moment, when the American army had ascended 150 miles towards the source of the Savannah, and crossed into Carolina over the same river near its mouth, with about 2400 men. A considerable body of Indians, whose friendship the British had previously secured, were associated with the British on this expedition. The superior British force which crossed Savannah river, soon compelled general Moultrie, who was charged with the defence of South-Carolina, to retire. Lincoln on receiving information of these movements, detached 300 of his light troops to reinforce Moultrie, but proceeded with his main army towards the capital of Georgia. He was induced to pursue his original intention, from an idea that general Prevost meant nothing more than to divert him by a feint on Carolina, and because his marching down on the south side of the river Savannah, would cause very little additional delay in repairing to its defence. When Lincoln found that Pre-

Prevost was seriously pushing for Charleston, he recrossed the Savannah and pursued him. The British proceeded in their march by the main road near the sea coast, with but little opposition, and in the mean time the Americans retreated before them towards Charleston. General Moultrie, who ably conducted this retreat, had no cavalry to check the advancing foe. Instead of his receiving reinforcements from the inhabitants, as he marched through the country, he was abandoned by many of the militia, who went to their homes. Their families and property lay directly in the route of the invading army. The absence of the main army under Lincoln, the retreat of Moultrie, the plunderings and devastations of the invaders, and above all the dread of the Indian savages which accompanied the royal army, diffused a general panic among the inhabitants. The terror of each individual became a source of terror to another. From the influence of these causes, many were induced to apply for British protection. New converts to the royal standard endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with their protectors, by encouraging them to attempt the reduction of Charleston. Being in their power, they were more anxious to frame intelligence on the idea of what was agreeable, than of what was true. They represented the inhabitants as being generally tired of the war, and wishing for peace at all events. They also stated that Charleston was incapable of much resistance. These circumstances combined with the facility with which the British marched through the country, induced general Prevost to extend his plan and push for Charleston. Had he designed it at first, and continued his march with the same rapidity with which it was begun, the town would probably have been carried by a coup-de-main, but he halted two or three days when advanced

near half the distance. In that interval every preparation was made by the South Carolinians, for the defence of their capital. All the houses in its suburbs were burnt. Lines and abbatiss were, in a few days, carried across the peninsula between Ashley and Cooper rivers, and cannon were mounted at proper intervals on its whole extent. Though this visit of the British, and especially an attack on the land side, was unexpected, yet in a few days great preparations were made, and a force of 3300 men assembled in Charleston for its defence.

The main body and baggage of the British army, being left on the south side of Ashley river, an advanced detachment of 900 men, crossed the ferry and appeared before the town. In the mean time Lincoln was May 11 marching forward as fast as possible, for the relief of Charleston, but as his arrival was doubtful and the crisis hazardous, to gain time was a matter of consequence. A whole day was therefore spent in the exchange of flags. Commissioners from the garrison were instructed "to propose a neutrality during the war between Great-Britain and America, and that the question whether the state shall belong to Great-Britain, or remain one of the United States, be determined by the treaty of peace between these powers." The British commanders refused this advantageous offer, alleging that they did not come in a legislative capacity, and insisted that as the inhabitants and others were in arms, they should surrender prisoners of war. This being refused, the garrison prepared for an immediate assault, but this was not attempted. About this time major Benjamin Huger, commanding a party without the lines, was by mistake killed by his countrymen. This was a loss indeed. The liberality, generosity and public spirit, which distinguish

ed him as a citizen, added to great political and military talents, rendered his untimely death the subject of universal regret. By his fall the country was deprived of one of its firmest and most useful friends, and the army lost one of its brightest ornaments. Prevost knowing by an intercepted letter, that Lincoln was coming on his rear, retreated from Charleston, and filed off with his whole force from the main to the islands near the sea, that he might avoid being between two fires. Both armies encamped in the vicinity of Charleston, watching each others motions till the 20th of June, when an attack was made with about 1200 Americans on 6 or 700 of the British, advantageously posted at Stono ferry. The latter had redoubts with a line of communication, and field pieces in the intervals, and the whole was secured with an abbatiss. By a preconcerted plan, a feint was to have been made from James island, with a body of Charleston militia, at the moment when general Lincoln began the attack from the main, but from mismanagement, they did not reach their place of destination till the action was over. The attack was continued for an hour and twenty minutes, and the assailants had the advantage, but the appearance of a reinforcement, to prevent which the feint from James island was intended, made their retreat necessary. The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded was about 150. Among the former was colonel Roberts, an artillery officer of distinguished abilities. Having been bred to arms in his native country, England, he had been particularly serviceable in diffusing military knowledge among the less informed American officers. In the short interval between his being wounded and his dying, he was visited on the field of battle by his son captain Roberts, of his own regiment. The expiring father presented his sword

to his son, with an exhortation to behave worthy of it, and to use it in defence of liberty and his country. After a short conversation, he desired him to return to his proper station, adding for reason, "that there he might be useful, but to him he could be of no service."

Immediately after this attack, the American militia, impatient of absence from their homes, returned to their plantations, and about the same time the British left the islands adjacent to Charleston, retreating from one to another, till they arrived at Port-Royal and Savannah. A considerable garrison was left at the former place, under colonel Maitland, but the main body went to Savannah.

This incursion into South-Carolina contributed very little to the advancement of the royal cause, but added much to the wealth of the officers, soldiers and followers of the British army, and still more to the distresses of the inhabitants. The forces under the command of general Prevost spread themselves over a considerable part of the richest settlements of the state, and where there are the fewest white inhabitants in proportion to the number of slaves. There was much to attract, and but little to resist the invaders. Small parties visited almost every house, and unopposed took whatever they chose. They not only rifled the inhabitants of household furniture, but of wearing apparel, money, rings and other personal ornaments. Every place, in their line of march, experienced the effects of their rapacity.

Soon after the affair at Stono, the continental forces under the command of general Lincoln retired to Sheldon, a healthy situation in the vicinity of Beaufort. Both armies remained in their respective encampments, till the arrival of a French fleet on the coast, roused the whole country to immediate activity.

Count D'Estaing having repaired and victualled his fleet at Boston, sailed for the West-Indies, and on the same day commodore Hotham with five men of war, a bomb vessel and some frigates, set out from New-York to convoy a number of transports with general Grant, and 5000 men to the same theatre of naval operations.

The British took St. Lucia, and count D'Estaing took St. Vincents and Grenada. Soon after the reduction of the latter, the count retired to Cape Francois. Having received instructions from the king his master to act in concert with the United States forces, and being strongly solicited by general Lincoln, president Lownds, governor Rutledge, and Mr. Plombard, consul of France in Charleston, he sailed for the American continent with expectation of rendering essential service, in operating against the common enemy. He arrived on the coast of Georgia, with a fleet consisting of twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns and eleven frigates. His appearance was so unexpected that the Experiment man of war, of 50 guns, commanded by sir James Wallace, and three frigates, fell into his hands.

As soon as his arrival on the coast was known, general Lincoln with the army under his command, marched for the vicinity of Savannah, and orders were given for the militia of Georgia and South-Carolina to rendezvous near the same place. The British were equally diligent in preparing for their defence. Great numbers were employed both by day and night, in strengthening and extending their lines. The American militia, flushed with the hope of speedily expelling the British from their southern possessions, turned out with an alacrity which far surpassed their exertions in the preceding campaign.

Nov. 3.

Dec. 30

July 1779.

Sept. 1.



D'Estaing before the arrival of Lincoln demanded the surrender of the town to the arms of France. Prevost in his answer declined surrendering on a general summons, and requested that specific terms should be proposed, to which he would give an answer. The count replied that it was the part of the besieged to propose terms. Prevost then asked for a suspension of hostilities, for 24 hours, for preparing proper terms. This was inconsiderately granted. Before the 24 hours elapsed, lieutenant colonel Maitland with several hundred men who had been stationed at Beaufort, made their way good through many obstacles, and joined the royal army in Savannah. The garrison, encouraged by the arrival of so respectable a force, determined on resistance. The French and Americans, who formed a junction the evening after, were therefore reduced to the necessity of storming or besieging the garrison. The resolution of proceeding by siege being adopted, several days were consumed in preparing for it, and in the mean time the works of the garrison were hourly strengthened by the labour of several hundred negroes, directed by that able engineer major

Oct. 4. Moncrief. The besiegers opened with nine mortars, thirty-seven pieces of cannon from the land side, and fifteen from the water. Soon after the commencement of the cannonade, Prevost solicited for leave to send the women and children out of town, but this was refused. The combined army suspected that a desire of secreting the plunder, lately taken from the South-Carolinians, was covered under the veil of humanity. It was also presumed that a refusal would expedite a surrender. On a report from the engineers that a considerable time would be necessary to reduce the garrison by regular approaches, it was determined to make an assault. This measure was forced on count D'Estaing by his marine

officers, who had remonstrated against his continuing to risque so valuable a fleet on a dangerous coast, in the hurricane season, and at so great a distance from the shore, that it might be surprized by a British fleet, completely repaired and fully manned. In a few days the lines of the besiegers might have been carried into the works of the besieged, but under these critical circumstances, no farther delay could be admitted. To assault or raise the siege was the alternative. Prudence would have dictated the latter, but a sense of honour determined the besiegers to adopt the former. Two feints were made with the country militia, and a real Oct. 9. attack on Spring-hill battery early in the morning, with 3500 French troops, 600 continentals, and 350 of the inhabitants of Charleston. These boldly marched up to the lines, under the command of D'Estaing and Lincoln, but a heavy and well directed fire from the batteries, and a cross fire from the gallies, threw the front of their columns into confusion. Two standards were nevertheless planted on the British redoubts. A retreat of the assailants was ordered, after they had stood the enemy's fire for 55 minutes. Count D'Estaing and count Pulaski were both wounded, the former slightly, but the latter mortally. Six hundred and thirty-seven of the French, and upwards of 200 of the continentals and militia, were killed or wounded. General Prevost, lieutenant colonel Maitland, and major Moncrief, deservedly acquired great reputation by this successful defence. The force of the garrison was between 2 and 3000, of which about 150 were militia. The damage sustained by the besieged was trifling, as they fired from behind works, and few of the assailants fired at all. Immediately after this unsuccessful assault, the militia, almost universally, went to their homes. Count D'Estaing reembarked his troops and artillery, and left the continent.

While the siege of Savannah was pending, a remarkable enterprize was effected by colonel John White of the Georgia line. Captain French had taken post with about 100 men near the river Ogechee, some time before the siege began. There were also at the same place, forty sailors on board of five British vessels, four of which were armed. All these men, together with the vessels

and 130 stand of arms, were surrendered to colonel White, captain. Elholm and four others, one of which was the colonel's servant. On the preceding night, this small party kindled a number of fires in different places, and adopted the parade of a large encampment. By these, and a variety of deceptive stratagems, captain French was fully impressed with an opinion, that nothing but an instant surrender, in conformity to a peremptory summons, could save his men from being cut to pieces by a superior force. He therefore gave up, without making any resistance.

This visit of the fleet of his most christian majesty to the coast of America, though unsuccessful as to its main object, was not without utility to the United States. It disconcerted the measures already digested by the British commanders, and caused a considerable waste of time, before they could determine on a new plan of operations. It also occasioned the evacuation of Rhode-Island. But this was of no advantage to the United States. For, of all the blunders committed by the British, in the course of the American war, none was greater than their stationing near 6000 men for two years and eight months, on that island, where they were lost to every purpose of cooperation, and where they could render very little more service to the royal cause, than could have been obtained by a couple of frigates cruising in the vicinity.

The siege being raised, the continental troops retreat-

ed over the river Savannah. The vicissitudes of an autumnal atmosphere made a severe impression on the irritable fibres of men, exhausted with fatigue and dejected by defeat. In proportion to the towering hopes, with which the expedition was undertaken, was the depression of spirits subsequent to its failure. The Georgia exiles, who had assembled from all quarters to repossess themselves of their estates, were a second time obliged to flee from their country and possessions. The most gloomy apprehensions respecting the southern states, took possession of the minds of the people.

Thus ended the southern campaign of 1779, without any thing decisive on either side. After one year, in which the British had overrun the state of Georgia for 150 miles from the sea coast, and had penetrated as far as the lines of Charleston, they were reduced to their original limits in Savannah. All their schemes of cooperation with the tories had failed; and the spirits of that class of the inhabitants, by successive disappointments, were thoroughly broken.

The campaign of 1779 is remarkable for the feeble exertions of the Americans. Accidental causes, which had previously excited their activity, had in a great measure ceased to have influence. An enthusiasm for liberty made them comparatively disregard property, and brave all danger in the first years of the war. The successes of their arms near the beginning of 1777, and the hopes of capturing Burgoyne's army in the close of it, together with the brisk\* circulation of a large quantity of paper money in good credit, made that year both active and decisive. The flattering prospects inspired by the alliance with France in 1778, banished all fears of the success of the revolution, but the failure of every scheme of cooperation produced a despondency of mind unfavour-

able to great exertions. Instead of driving the British out of the country, as the Americans vainly presumed, the campaign of 1778 and 1779, terminated without any direct advantage from the French fleet sent to their aid. Expecting too much from their allies, and then failing in these expectations, they were less prepared to prosecute the war from their own resources, than they would have been had D'Estaing not touched on their coast. Their army was reduced in its numbers, and badly clothed. In the first years of the war the mercantile character was lost in the military spirit of the times, but in the progress of it the inhabitants, cooling in their enthusiasm, gradually returned to their former habits of lucrative business. This made a distinction between the army and the citizens, and was unfriendly to military exertions. While several foreign events tended to the embarrassment of Great-Britain, and indirectly to the establishment of independence, a variety of internal causes relaxed the exertions of the Americans, and for a time made it doubtful, whether they would ultimately be independent citizens or conquered subjects. Among these, the daily depreciation of their bills of credit held a distinguished preeminence. This so materially affected every department as to merit a particular discussion. The subject, to prevent an interruption of the thread of the narrative, is treated of in a separate appendix.

## APPENDIX,

## No. II.

*Of Continental Paper Currency.*

IN the modern mode of making war, money is not less essential, than valour in the field, or wisdom in the cabinet. The deepest purse decides the fate of contending nations, as often as the longest sword. It early occurred to the founders of the American empire, that the established revenues of Great-Britain, must eventually overbalance the sudden and impetuous sallies of men contending for freedom, on the spur of the occasion, and without the permanent means of defence; but how to remedy the evil, puzzled their wisest politicians. Gold and silver, as far as was known, had not a physical existence in the country, in any quantity equal to the demands of war, nor could they be procured from abroad, as the channels of commerce had been previously shut, by the voluntary association of congress to suspend foreign trade. America having never been much taxed in any direct way, and being without established governments, and especially as she was contending against what was lately lawful authority, could not immediately proceed to taxation. Besides, as the contest was on the subject of taxation, the laying on of taxes adequate to the exigences of war, even though it had been practicable, would have been impolitic. The only plausible expedient, in their power to adopt, the emission of bills of credit representing specie, under a public engagement to be ultimately sunk by equal taxes, or exchanged for gold or silver. This practice had been familiar from the first settlement of the colonies, and under proper restrictions had been found highly advantageous. Their resolution to raise an army in June 1775,

was therefore followed by another to emit bills of credit, to the amount of two millions of dollars. To that sum, on the 25th of the next month, it was resolved to add another million. For their redemption they pledged the confederated colonies, and directed each colony to find ways and means to sink its proportion and quota in four annual payments, the first to be made on or before the last of November 1779. That time was fixed upon from an expectation, that previous to its arrival, the contest would be brought to a conclusion. On the 29th of November, 1775, an estimate having been made by congress of the public expenses already incurred or likely to be incurred, in carrying on their defence till the 10th of June, 1776, it was resolved to emit a farther sum of three millions of dollars, to be redeemed as the former by four annual payments, the first to be made on or before the last day of November, 1783.

It was at the same time determined, that the quotas of bills to be redeemed by each colony, should be in a relative proportion to their respective numbers of inhabitants. This estimate was calculated to defray expenses to the 10th of June, 1776, on the idea that an accommodation would take place before that time. Hitherto all arrangements, both for men and money, were temporary, and founded on the supposed probability of a reconciliation. Early in 1776, congress obtained information, that Great-Britain had contracted for 16,000 foreign mercenaries, to be sent over for the purpose of subduing America. This enforced the necessity of extending their plan of defence, beyond the 10th of the next June. They therefore on the 17th of February 1776, ordered four millions of dollars to be emitted; and on the 9th of May and the 22d of July following, emitted ten millions more on the same security. Such was the animation of the times, that these several emissions, amounting in the aggregate to 20 millions of

dollars, circulated for several months without any depreciation, and commanded the resources of the country for public service, equally with the same sum of gold or silver. The United States derived for a considerable time, as much benefit from this paper creation of their own, though without any established funds for its support or redemption, as would have resulted from a free gift of as many Mexican dollars. While the ministry of England were puzzling themselves for new taxes, and funds on which to raise their supplies, congress raised theirs by resolutions, directing paper of no intrinsic value to be struck off in form of promissory notes. But there was a point both in time and quantity beyond which this congressional alchemy ceased to operate. That time was about 18 months from the date of their first emission, and that quantity about 20 millions of dollars.

Independence being declared in the second year of the war, and the object for which arms were at first assumed being changed, it was obvious that more money must be procured, and equally so, that bills of credit were multiplied beyond a reasonable sum for circulation, they must necessarily depreciate. It was therefore, on the 3d of October 1776, resolved to borrow five millions of dollars, and in the month following a lottery was set on foot for obtaining a farther sum on loan. The expenses of the war were so great, that the money arising from both, though considerable, was far short of a sufficiency. The rulers of America thought it still premature to urge taxation. They therefore reiterated the expedient, of farther emissions. The ease with which the means of procuring supplies were furnished by striking off bills of credit, and the readiness of the people to receive them, prompted congress to multiply them beyond the limits of prudence. A diminution of their



value was the unavoidable consequence. This at first was scarcely perceivable, but it daily increased. The zeal of the people nevertheless so far overbalanced the nice mercantile calculations of interest, that the campaigns of 1776 and 1777 were not affected by the depreciation of the paper currency. Congress foresaw that this could not long be the case. It was therefore, on the 22d of November 1777, recommended to the several states to raise by taxes the sum of five millions of dollars, for the service of the year 1778.

Previously to this it had been resolved to borrow larger sums, and for the encouragement of lenders, it was agreed to pay the interest which should accrue thereon by bills of exchange, payable in France, out of the monies borrowed there for the use of the United States. This tax unfortunately failed in several of the states. From the impossibility of procuring a sufficiency of money either from loans or taxes, the old expedient of farther emissions was reiterated; but the value decreased as the quantity increased. Congress, anxious to put a stop to the increase of their bills of credit, and to provide a fund for reducing what were issued, called upon the states on the first of January 1779, to pay into the continental treasury their respective quotas of fifteen millions of dollars for the service of that year, and of six millions annually from and after the year 1779, as a fund for reducing their early emissions and loans. Such had been the mistaken ideas, which originally prevailed, of the duration of the contest, that though the war was raging, and the demands for money unabated, yet the period was arrived which had been originally fixed upon for the redemption of the first emissions of congress.

In addition to these 15 millions called for on the 1st

of January 1779, the states were on the 21st of May following called upon to furnish for public service, within the current year, their respective quotas of 45 millions of dollars. Congress wished to arrest the growing depreciation, and therefore called for taxes in large sums, proportioned to the demands of the public, and also to the diminished value of their bills. These requisitions, though nominally large, were by no means sufficient. From the fluctuating state of the money, it was impossible to make any certain calculations, for it was not two days of the same value. A sum which when demanded, would have purchased a sufficiency of the commodities wanted for the public service, was very inadequate, when the collection was made, and the money lodged in the treasury. The depreciation began at different periods in different states; but in general about the middle of the year 1777, and progressively increased for three or four years. Towards the last of 1777, the depreciation was about two or three for one; in 1778, it advanced from two or three for one, to five or six for one; in 1779, from five or six for one to 27 or 28 for one; in 1780, from 27 to 28 for one to 50 or 60 for one, in the first four or five months. Its circulation was afterwards partial, but where it passed it soon depreciated to 150 for one. In some few parts it continued in circulation for the first four or five months of 1781, but in this latter period many would not take it at any rate, and they who did, received it at a depreciation of several hundreds for one.

As there was a general clamour on account of the floods of money, which at successive periods had deluged the states, it was resolved in October 1779, that no farther sum should be issued on any account whatever, than what, when added to the present sum in circulation, would in the whole be equal to 200 millions of

dollars. It was at the same time resolved, that congress should emit only such a part of the sum, wanting to make up 200 millions, as should be absolutely necessary for the public exigences, before adequate supplies could be otherwise obtained, relying for such supplies on the exertions of the several states. This was forcibly represented in a circular letter from congress to Sept. 13. their constituents, and the states were earnestly 1779. intreated to prevent that deluge of evils which would flow from their neglecting to furnish adequate supplies for the wants of the confederacy. The same circular letter stated the practicability of redeeming all the bills of congress at par with gold and silver, and rejected with indignation the supposition that the states would ever tarnish their credit by violating public faith. These strong declarations in favour of the paper currency deceived many to repose confidence in it to their ruin. Subsequent events compelled congress to adopt the very measure in 1780, which in the preceding year they had sincerely reprobated.

From the non-compliance of the states, congress was obliged in a short time after the date of their circular letter to issue such a farther quantity, as when added to previous emissions made the sum of 200 millions of dollars. Besides this immense sum, the paper emissions of the different states amounted to many millions, which mixed with the continental money, and added to its depreciation. What was of little value before now became of less. The whole was soon expended, and yet from its increased depreciation the immediate wants of the army were not supplied. The source which for five years had enabled congress to keep an army in the field being exhausted, general Washington was reduced for some time to the alternative of disbanding his troops, or

of supplying them by a military force. He preferred the latter, and the inhabitants of New-York and New-Jersey, though they felt the injury, saw the necessity, and patiently submitted.

The states were next called upon to furnish in lieu of money, determinate quantites of beef, pork, flour, and other articles, for the use of the army. This was called a requisition for specific supplies, or a tax in kind, and was found on experiment to be so difficult of execution, so inconvenient, partial, and expensive, that it was speedily abandoned. About this time congress resolved upon another expedient. This was to issue a new species of paper money, under the guarantee of the several states. The old money was to be called in by taxes, and as soon as brought in to be burnt, and in lieu thereof, one dollar of the new was to be emitted for every twenty of the old, so that when the whole 200 millions were drawn in and cancelled, only ten millions of the new should be issued in their place, four tenths of which were to be subject to the order of congress, and the remaining six tenths to the order of the several states. These new bills were to be redeemable in specie within six years, and to bear an interest at the rate of five per cent, to be paid also in specie, at the redemption of the bills, or at the election of the owner annually in bills of exchange on the American commissioners in Europe, at four shillings and six pence for each dollar.

From the execution of these resolutions it was expected, that the old money would be cancelled—that the currency would be reduced to a fixed standard—that the states would be supplied with the means of purchasing the specific supplies required of them, and that congress would be furnished with efficient money.

to provide for the exigences of the war. That these good effects would have followed, even though the resolutions of congress had been carried into execution, is very questionable; but from the partial compliances of the states the experiment was never fairly made, and the new paper answered very little purpose. It was hoped by varying the ground of credit, that congress would gain a repetition of the advantages which resulted from their first paper expedient, but these hopes were of short duration. By this time much of the popular enthusiasm had spent itself, and confidence in public engagements was nearly expired. The event proved, that credit is of too delicate a nature to be sported with, and can only be maintained by honesty and punctuality. The several expedients proposed by congress for raising supplies having failed, a crisis followed very interesting to the success of the revolution. The particulars of this shall be related among the public events of the year 1781, in which it took place. Some observations on that primary instrument of American independence, the old continental bills of credit, shall for the present close this subject.

It would have been impossible to have carried on the war, without something in the form of money. There was spirit enough in America to bring to the field of battle as many of her sons, as would have outnumbered the armies of Britain, and to have risked their fate on a general engagement; but this was the very thing they ought to avoid. Their principal hope lay in evacuating, retreating, and protracting to its utmost length a war of posts. The continued exertions necessary for this species of defence, could not be expected from the impetuous sallies of militia. A regular permanent army became necessary. Though the enthusiasm of the

times might have dispensed with present pay, yet without at least as much money, as would support them in the field, the most patriotic army must have dispersed.

The impossibility of the Americans procuring gold and silver even for that purpose, doubtless weighed with the British as an encouragement, to bring the controversy to the decision of the sword. What they knew could not be done by ordinary means was accomplished by those which were extraordinary. Paper of no intrinsic value was made to answer all the purposes of gold and silver, and to support the expenses of five campaigns. This was in some degree owing to a previous confidence, which had been begotten by honesty and fidelity, in discharging the engagements of government. From New-York to Georgia there never had been in matters relating to money, an instance of a breach of public faith. In the scarcity of gold and silver, many emergencies had imposed a necessity of emitting bills of credit. These had been uniformly and honestly redeemed. The bills of congress being thrown into circulation, on this favourable foundation of public confidence, were readily received. The enthusiasm of the people contributed to the same effect. That the endangered liberties of America ought to be defended, and that the credit of their paper was essentially necessary to a proper defence, were opinions engraven on the hearts of a great majority of the citizens. It was therefore a point of honour, and considered as a part of duty, to take the bills freely at their full value. Private gain was then so little regarded, that the whig citizens were willing to run all the hazards incidental to bills of credit, rather than injure the cause of their country by undervaluing its money. Every thing human has its

limits. While the credit of the money was well supported by public confidence and patriotism, its value diminished from the increase of its quantity. Repeated emissions begat that natural depreciation, which results from an excess of quantity. This was helped on by various causes, which affected the *credit* of the money. The enemy very ingeniously counterfeited their bills, and industriously circulated their forgeries through the United States. Congress allowed to their public agents a commission on the amount of their purchases. Instead of exerting themselves to purchase at a low price, they had therefore an interest in giving a high price for every thing. So strong was the force of prejudice, that the British mode of supplying armies by contract, could not for a long time obtain the approbation of congress. While these causes operated, confidence in the public was abating, and at the same time, that fervour of patriotism which disregarded interest was daily declining. To prevent or retard the depreciation of their paper money, congress attempted to prop its credit by means which wrecked private property, and injured the morals of the people without answering the end proposed. They recommended to the states to pass laws for regulating the prices of labour, manufacture and all sorts of commodities, and for confiscating and selling the estates of tories, and for investing the money arising from the sales thereof in loan-office certificates. As many of those who were disaffected to the revolution absolutely refused to take the bills of congress even in the first stage of the war, when the real and nominal value was the same. With the view of counteracting their machinations, congress early recommended to the states to pass laws for making the paper money a legal tender, at their nominal value in the discharge of *bona fide* debts,

though contracted to be paid in gold or silver. With the same views, they farther recommended that laws should be passed by each of the states, ordaining that "who-soever should ask or receive more, in their bills of credit for gold or silver or any species of money whatsoever, than the nominal sum thereof in Spanish dollars, or more in the said bills for any commodities whatsoever, than the same could be purchased from the same person in gold and silver, or offer to sell any commodities for gold or silver, and refuse to sell the same for the said bills, shall be deemed an enemy to the liberties of the United States, and forfeit the property so sold or offered for sale." The laws which were passed by the states, for regulating the prices of labour and commodities, were found on experiment, to be visionary and impracticable. They only operated on the patriotic few, who were disposed to sacrifice every thing in the cause of their country; and who implicitly obeyed every mandate of their rulers. Others disregarded them, and either refused to part with their commodities, or demanded and obtained their own prices.

These laws in the first instance, made an artificial scarcity, and had they not been repealed, would soon have made a real one, for men never exert themselves, unless they have the fruit of their exertions secured to them, and at their own disposal.

The confiscation and sale of the property of tories, for the most part, brought but very little into the public treasury. The sales were generally made for credit, and by the progressive depreciation, what was dear at the time of the purchase, was very cheap at the time of payment. The most extensive mischief resulted in the progress, and towards the close of the war, from the operation of the laws, which made the paper bills a tender, in



the discharge of debts contracted payable in gold or silver. When this measure was first adopted, little or no injustice resulted from it, for at that time the paper bills were equal, or nearly equal to gold or silver, of the same nominal sum. In the progress of the war, when depreciation took place, the case was materially altered. Laws which were originally innocent, became eventually the occasion of much injustice.

The aged who had retired from the scenes of active business, to enjoy the fruits of their industry, found their substance melting away to a mere pittance, insufficient for their support. The widow who lived comfortably on the bequests of a deceased husband, experienced a frustration of all his well meant tenderness. The laws of the country interposed, and compelled her to receive a shilling where a pound was her due. The blooming virgin who had grown up with an unquestionable title to a liberal patrimony, was legally stripped of every thing but her personal charms and virtues. The hapless orphan, instead of receiving from the hands of an executor, a competency to set out in business, was obliged to give a final discharge on the payment of six pence in the pound. In many instances, the earnings of a long life of care and diligence, were, in the space of a few years, reduced to a trifling sum. A few persons escaped these calamities, by secretly transferring their bonds, or by flying from the presence or neighbourhood of their debtors. The evils which resulted from the legal tender of these paper bills, were foreign from the intentions of congress, and of the state legislatures. It is but justice to add farther, that a great proportion of them flowed from ignorance. Till the year 1780, when the bills fell to forty for one, it was designed by most of the rulers of America, and believed by a great majority of the people, that

the whole sum in circulation would be appreciated by a reduction of its quantity, so as finally to be equal to gold or silver. In every department of government the Americans erred from ignorance, but in none so much, as in that which related to money.

Such were the evils which resulted from paper money. On the other hand, it was the occasion of good to many. It was at all times the poor man's friend. While it was current, all kinds of labour very readily found their reward. In the first years of the war, none were idle from want of employment, and none were employed, without having it in their power to obtain ready payment for their services. To that class of people, whose daily labour was their support, the depreciation was no disadvantage. Expending their money as fast as they received it, they always got its full value. The reverse was the case with the rich, or those who were disposed to hoarding. No agrarian law ever had a more extensive operation, than continental money. That for which the Gracchi lost their lives in Rome, was peaceably effected in the United States, by the legal tender of these depreciating bills. The poor became rich, and the rich became poor. Money lenders, and those whose circumstances enabled them to give credit, were essentially injured. All that the money lost in its value, was so much taken from their capital, but the active and industrious indemnified themselves, by conforming the price of their services to the present state of the depreciation. The experience of this time, inculcated on youth two salutary lessons, the impolicy of depending on paternal acquisitions, and the necessity of their own exertions. They who were in debt, and possessed property of any kind, could easily make the latter extinguish the former. Every thing that was useful, when brought to market, readily found

a purchaser. A hog or two would pay for a slave; a few cattle for a comfortable house; and a good horse for an improved plantation. A small part of the productions of a farm, would discharge the long outstanding accounts due from its owner. The dreams of the golden age were realized to the poor man and the debtor, but unfortunately what these gained, was just so much taken from others.

The evils of depreciation did not terminate with the war. They extend to the present hour. That the helpless part of the community were legislatively deprived of their property, was among the lesser evils, which resulted from the legal tender of the depreciated bills of credit. The iniquity of the laws, estranged the minds of many of the citizens from the habits and love of justice.

The nature of obligations was so far changed, that he was reckoned the honest man, who from principle delayed paying his debts. The mounds which government had erected, to secure the observance of honesty in the commercial intercourse of man with man, were broken down. Truth, honour, and justice were swept away by the overflowing deluge of legal iniquity, nor have they yet assumed their ancient and accustomed seats. Time and industry have already in a great degree, repaired the losses of property, which the citizens sustained during the war, but both have hitherto failed in effacing the taint which was then communicated to their principles, nor can its total ablution be expected till a new generation arises, unpractised in the iniquities of their fathers.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Of Indians, and Expeditions into the Indian country.*

**WHEN** the English colonies were first planted in North-America, the country was inhabited by numerous tribes of Indians, who principally supported themselves by the spontaneous productions of nature. The arts and arms of Europeans soon gave them an ascendancy over such untutored savages. Had the latter understood their interest, and been guided by a spirit of union, they would soon have expelled the invaders, and in that case they might now be flourishing in the possession of their ancient territories and independence. By degrees the old inhabitants were circumscribed within narrower limits, and by some strange fatality, their numbers have been constantly lessening. The names of several nations who in the last century boasted of several thousands, are now known only to those who are fond of curious researches. Many are totally extinct, and others can shew no more than a few straggling individuals the remnants of their fallen greatness. That so many tribes should, in so short a time, lose both their country and their national existence, is an event scarcely to be paralleled in the history of the world. Spiritous liquors, the small pox, and an abridgment of territory, to a people whose mode of life needed an extensive range, evils which chiefly resulted from the neighbourhood of Europeans, were among the principal causes of their destruction. The reflections which may be excited by reviewing the havoc made among the native proprietors of this new world, is in some degree alleviated by its counterpart. While one set of inhabitants was insensibly dwindling away, another

improving in the arts of civil and social life, was growing in numbers, and gradually filling up their places. As the emigrants from Europe, and their dependents extended their possessions on the sea coast, the Aborigines retired from it. By this gradual advance of the one and retiring of the other, the former always presented an extensive frontier, to the incursions of the latter. The European emigrants from an avidity for land, the possession of which is the ultimate object of human avarice, were prone to encroach on the territories of the Indians, while the Indians from obvious principles of human nature, beheld with concern the descendants of the ancient proprietors circumscribed in their territory by the descendants of those strangers, whom their fathers had permitted to reside among them. From these causes and especially from the licentious conduct of disorderly individuals of both Indians and white people, there were frequent interruptions of the peace in their contiguous settlements. In the war between France and England which commenced in 1755, both parties paid assiduous attention to the Aborigines. The former succeeded in securing the greatest number of adherents, but the superior success of the latter in the progress, and at the termination of the war, turned the current of Indian affections and interest in their favour. When the dispute between Great-Britain and her colonies began to grow serious, the friendship of the Indians became a matter of consequence to both parties. Stretching for fifteen hundred miles along the whole north-western frontier of the colonies, they were to them desirable friends and formidable enemies. As terror was one of the engines by which Great-Britain intended to enforce the submission of the colonies, nothing could be more conducive to the excitement of this passion, than the cooperation of Indians. Policy, not

cruelty, led to the adoption of this expedient: but it was of that over refined species which counteracts itself. In the competition for the friendship of the Indians, the British had advantages far superior to any which were possessed by the colonists. The expulsion of the French from Canada, an event which had only taken place about thirteen years before, was still fresh in the memory of many of the savages, and had inspired them with high ideas of the martial superiority of British troops. The first steps taken by the congress to oppose Great-Britain, put it out of their power to gratify the Indians. Such was the effect of the non-importation agreement of 1774. While Great-Britain had access to the principal Indian tribes through Canada on the north, and the two Floridas on the south, and was abundantly able to supply their many wants, the colonists had debarred themselves from importing the articles which were necessary for the Indian trade.

It was unfortunate for the colonies, that since the peace of Paris, 1763, the transactions with the Indians had been mostly carried on by superintendents appointed and paid by the king of Great-Britain. These being under obligations to the crown, and expectants of further favours from it, generally used their influence with the Indians in behalf of the mother country, and against the colonies. They insinuated into the minds of the uninformed savages, that the king was their natural protector against the encroaching colonists, and that if the latter succeeded in their opposition to Great-Britain, they would probably next aim at the extirpation of their red neighbours. By such representations, seconded with a profusion of presents, the attachment of the Indians was preengaged in support of the British interest.

The Americans were not unmindful of the savages

on their frontier. They appointed commissioners to explain to them the grounds of the dispute, and to cultivate their friendship by treaties and presents. They endeavoured to persuade the Indians that the quarrel was by no means relative to them, and that therefore, they should take part with neither side.

For the greater convenience of managing the intercourse between the colonies and the Indians, the latter were divided into three departments, the northern, southern and middle, and commissioners were appointed for each. Congress also resolved to import  
Jan. 25,  
1776. and distribute among them a suitable assortment of goods, to the amount of 40,000*l.* sterling, on account of the United States; but this was not executed. All the exertions of congress were insufficient for the security of their western frontiers. In almost every period of the war, a great majority of the Indians took part with Great-Britain against the Americans. South-Carolina was among the first of the states, which experienced the effects of British influence over the Indians. The Cherokees and Creeks inhabit lands, not far distant from the western settlements of Carolina and Georgia. The intercourse with these tribes had, for several years prior to the American war, been exclusively committed to John Stuart, an officer of the crown, and devoted to the royal interest. His influence, which was great, was wholly exerted in favour of Great-Britain. A plan was settled by him, in concert with the king's governors, and other royal servants, to land a royal armed force in Florida, and proceed with it to the western frontier of the southern states, and there in conjunction with the Tories and Indians, to fall on the friends of congress, at the same time that a fleet and army should invade them on the sea coast. The whole

scheme was providentially discovered, by the capture of Moses Kirkland, one of the principal agents to be employed in its execution, while he was on his way to general Gage with despatches, detailing the particulars, and soliciting for the requisite aid to accomplish it. The possession of Kirkland and of his papers, enabled the Americans to take such steps as in a great degree frustrated the views of the royal servants, yet so much was carried into effect, that the Cherokees began their massacres at the very time the British fleet attacked the fort on Sullivan's Island. The undisturbed tranquillity which took place in South-Carolina and the adjacent states, after the British had failed in their designs against them in the spring and summer of 1776, gave an opportunity for carrying war into the Indian country. This was done, not so much to punish what was past, as to prevent all future cooperation between the Indians and British in that quarter.

Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, each sent about the same time a considerable force over the Alleghany mountains, which tra-<sup>1776.</sup>versed the Indian settlements; burned their towns, and destroyed their fields of corn. Above five hundred of the Cherokees were obliged, from the want of provisions, to take refuge in West-Florida, and were there fed at the expense of the British government. These unfortunate misled people sued for peace in the most submissive terms, and soon after assented to a treaty, by which they ceded a considerable part of their land to South-Carolina. The decision with which this expedition was conducted intimidated the Cherokees for some years, from farther hostilities. Very different was the case of those Indians who were in the vicinity of the British posts, and contiguous to the frontier of the



northern and middle states. The presents which they continually received from England, the industry of the British agents, and the influence of a great number of American refugees who had taken shelter among them, operating on their native passion for rapine, excited them to frequent hostile excursions. Colonel John Butler, a Connecticut tory, and one Brandt, a half Indian by blood, were the principal leaders of the savages in these expeditions. The vast extent of frontier, and remote situation of the settlements, together with the exact knowledge which the refugees possessed of the country, made it practicable for even small marauding parties to do extensive mischief.

1778. A storm of Indian and tory vengeance burst  
July 1. with particular violence on Wyoming, a new and flourishing settlement on the eastern branch of the Susquehanna. Unfortunately for the security of the inhabitants, the soil was claimed both by Connecticut and Pennsylvania. From the collision of contradictory claims, founded on royal charters, the laws of neither were steadily enforced. In this remote settlement, where government was feeble, the tories were under less controul, and could easily assemble undiscovered. Nevertheless, at one time 27 of them were taken, and sent to Hartford in Connecticut, but they were afterwards released. These and others of the same description, instigated by revenge against the Americans, from whom some of them had suffered banishment and the loss of property, made a common cause with the Indians, and attacked the Wyoming settlement with their combined forces, estimated at 1100 men, 900 of which were Indians. The whole was commanded by colonel John Butler, a Connecticut tory. One of the forts, which had been constructed for the security of the inhabitants, being

very weak, surrendered to his party; but some of the garrison had previously retired to the principal fort at Kingston, called Forty-Fort. Colonel John Butler next demanded the surrender of that. July 2. Colonel Zebulon Butler, a continental officer who commanded there, sent a message to him, proposing a conference at a bridge without the fort. This being agreed to, July 3. colonel Zebulon Butler, Dennison, and some other officers, repaired to the place appointed, and they were followed by the whole garrison, a few invalids excepted. None of the enemy appeared. The Wyoming people advanced, and supposed that the enemy were retreating. They continued to march on, till they were about three miles from the fort. They then saw a few of the enemy, with whom they exchanged some shot, but they presently found themselves ambuscaded and attacked by the whole body of Indians and Tories. They fought gallantly, till they found that their retreat to the fort was cut off. Universal confusion then ensued. Of 417 who had marched out of the fort, about 360 were instantly slain. No quarters were given. Colonel John Butler again demanded the surrender of Forty-Fort. This was agreed to under articles of capitulation, by which the effects of the people therein were to be secured to them. The garrison consisted of 30 men and 200 women. These were permitted to cross the Susquehanna, and retreat through the woods to Northampton county. The most of the other scattered settlers had previously retired, some through the woods to Northampton county, others down the river to Northumberland county. In this retreat, some of the women were delivered of children in the woods, and many suffered from want of provisions. Several of the settlers at Wyoming had erected good houses and barns, and made very con-

siderable improvements. These and all the other houses in the vicinity, except about half a dozen, were destroyed. Their horses, cattle, sheep and hogs, were for the most part killed or driven away by the enemy.

The distresses of this settlement were uncommonly great. A large proportion of the male inhabitants were, in one day, slaughtered. In a single engagement, near 200 women were made widows, and a much greater number of children were left fatherless.

Soon after the destruction of the Wyoming settlement, an expedition was carried on against the Indians by  
Oct. 1. colonel Butler, of the Pennsylvania troops. He and his party having gained the head of the Delaware, marched down the river for two days, and then struck across the country to the Susquehanna. They totally burnt or destroyed the Indian villages, both in that quarter and the other settlements, but the inhabitants escaped. The destruction was extended for several miles on both sides of the Susquehanna. The difficulties which colonel Butler's men encountered in this expedition, could not be undergone but by men who possessed a large share of hardiness, both of body and mind. They were obliged to carry their provisions on their backs, and thus loaded, frequently to wade through creeks and rivers. After the toil of a hard march, they were obliged to endure chilly nights and heavy rains, without even the means of keeping their arms dry.

They completed their business in sixteen days.  
- Nov. 4. About four weeks after colonel Butler's return, some hundreds of Indians, a large body of Tories, and about 50 regulars, entered Cherry-Valley, within the state of New-York. They made an unsuccessful attempt on Fort Alden, but they killed and scalped thirty-two of the inhabitants, mostly women and children, and also colonel Alden and ten soldiers.

An expedition which was to have taken place under Henry Hamilton, lieutenant governor of Detroit, fortunately for the Virginia back settlers, against whom it was principally directed, fell through, in consequence of the spirited conduct of colonel Clarke. The object of the expedition was extensive, and many Indians were engaged in it. Hamilton took post at St. Vincents in the winter, to have all things in readiness for invading the American settlements, as soon as the season of the year would permit. Clarke, on hearing that Hamilton had weakened himself by sending away a considerable part of his Indians against the frontier settlers, formed the resolution of attacking him, as the best expedient for preventing the mischiefs which were designed against his country. After surmounting many difficulties, he arrived with 130 men, unexpectedly at St. Vincents.

The town immediately gave up to the Americans, and assisted them in taking the fort. The next day, Feb. 23. Hamilton, with the garrison, agreed to surrender prisoners of war, on articles of capitulation. Clarke, on hearing that a convoy of British goods and provisions, was on its way from Detroit, detached a party of sixty men, which met them and made prize of the whole. By this well conducted and spirited attack on Hamilton, his intended expedition was nipped in the bud. Colonel Clarke transmitted to the council of Virginia, letters and papers relating to lieutenant governor Hamilton, Philip de Jean justice of peace for Detroit, and William Lamothe captain of volunteers; whom he had made prisoners. The board reported that Hamilton had incited the Indians to perpetrate their accustomed cruelties on the defenceless inhabitants of the United States—had at the time of his captivity sent considerable detachments of Indians against the frontiers,—had appointed a great

council of them, to meet him and concert the operations of the ensuing campaign—had given standing rewards for scalps, and had treated American prisoners with cruelty. They also reported, that it appeared that de Jean was the willing and cordial instrument of Hamilton, and that Lamothe was captain of the volunteer scalping parties of the Indians and Tories who went out from time to time, under general orders to spare neither men, women, nor children. They therefore, considering them as fit objects on which to begin the work of retaliation, advised the governor to put them in irons—confine them in the dungeon of the public jail—debar them the use of pen, ink and paper, and exclude them from all converse, except with their keeper.

Colonel Goose Van Schaick, with 55 men, marched from Fort Schuyler to the Onandago settlements, April 19. and burned the whole, consisting of about fifty houses, together with a large quantity of provisions. Horses, and stock of every kind, were killed. The arms and ammunition of the Indians, were either destroyed or brought off, and their settlements were laid waste. Twelve Indians were killed, and 34 made prisoners. This expedition was performed in less than six days, and without the loss of a single man.

In this manner, the savage part of the war was carried on in America. Waste, and sometimes cruelty were inflicted and retorted, with infinite variety of scenes of horror and disgust. The selfish passions of human nature, unrestrained by social ties, broke over all bounds of decency or humanity. The American refugees, who had fled to the western wilderness, indulged their passion for rapine, by assuming the colour and dress of Indians. At other times they acted as guides, and conducted these merciless ravagers into such settlements, as afforded the

most valuable booty, and the fairest prospect of escape. The savages, encouraged by British presents and agents, and led on by American refugees well acquainted with the country, and who cloaked the most consummate villainy under the specious name of loyalty, extended their depredations and murders far and near.

A particular detail of the devastation of property—of the distress of great numbers who escaped, only by fleeing to the woods, where they subsisted without covering, on the spontaneous productions of the earth—and of the barbarous murders which were committed on persons of every age and sex, would be sufficient to freeze every breast with horror.

In sundry expeditions which had been carried on against the Indians, ample vengeance had been taken on some of them, but these partial successes produced no lasting benefit. The few who escaped, had it in their power to make thousands miserable. For the permanent security of the frontier inhabitants, it was resolved in the year 1779, to carry a decisive expedition into the Indian country. A considerable body of continental troops was selected for this purpose, and put under the command of general Sullivan. The Indians who form the confederacy of the six nations, commonly called the Mohawks, were the objects of this expedition. They inhabit that immense and fertile tract of country, which lies between New-England, the middle states and the province of Canada. They had been advised by congress, and they had promised to observe a neutrality in the war, but they soon departed from this line of conduct. The Oneidas and a few others were friends to the Americans, but a great majority took part decidedly against them. Overcome by the presents and promises of sir John Johnson and other British agents, and their own native appetite

for depredation, they invaded the frontiers, carrying slaughter and devastation wherever they went. From the vicinity of their settlements, to the inhabited parts of the United States, they facilitated the inroads of the more remote Indians. Much was therefore expected from their expulsion. When general Sullivan was on his way to the Indian country he was joined by the American general Clinton, with upwards of 1000 men. The latter made his way down the Susquehanna by a singular contrivance. The stream of water in that river was too low to float his batteaux. To remedy this inconvenience, he raised with great industry a dam across the mouth of Lake Otsego, which is one of the sources of the river Susquehanna. The lake being constantly supplied by springs soon rose to the height of the dam. General Clinton having got his batteaux ready, opened a passage through the dam for the water to flow. This raised the river so high that he was enabled to embark all his troops and to float them down to Tioga. By this exertion they soon joined Sullivan. The Indians on hearing of the expedition projected against them, acted with firmness. They collected their strength, took possession of proper ground, and fortified it with judgment. General Sullivan attacked them in their works. They stood a cannonade for more than two hours, but then gave way. This engagement proved decisive. After the trenches were forced, the Indians fled without making any attempt to rally. They were pursued for some miles but without effect. The consternation occasioned among them by this defeat was so great, that they gave up all ideas of farther resistance. As the Americans advanced into their settlements, the Indians retreated before them, without throwing any obstructions in their way. General Sullivan penetrated into the heart of the country in-

Aug. 29.

habited by the Mohawks, and spread desolation every where. Many settlements in the form of towns were destroyed, besides detached habitations. All their fields of corn, and whatever was in a state of cultivation, underwent the same fate. Scarce any thing in the form of a house was left standing, nor was an Indian to be seen. To the surprize of the Americans, they found the lands about the Indian towns well cultivated, and their houses both large and commodious. The quantity of corn destroyed was immense. Orchards in which were several hundred fruit trees were cut down, and of them many appeared to have been planted for a long series of years. Their gardens which were enriched with great quantities of useful vegetables of different kinds, were laid waste. The Americans were so full of resentment against the Indians, for the many outrages they had suffered from them, and so bent on making the expedition decisive, that the officers and soldiers cheerfully agreed to remain till they had fully completed the destruction of the settlement. The supplies obtained in the country, lessened the inconvenience of short rations. The ears of corn were so remarkably large, that many of them measured twenty-two inches in length. Necessity suggested a novel expedient for pulverizing the grains thereof. The soldiers perforated a few of their camp kettles with bayonets. The protusions occasioned thereby formed a rough surface, and by rubbing the ears of corn thereon, a coarse meal was produced, which was easily converted into agreeable nourishment.

In about three months from his setting out, Sullivan reached Easton in Pennsylvania, and soon after rejoined the army.

The Indians, by this decisive expedition, being made to feel in the most sensible manner, those calamities they



were wont to inflict on others, became cautious and timid. The sufferings they had undergone, and the dread of a repetition of them, in case of their provoking the resentment of the Americans, damped the ardour of their warriors from making incursions into the American settlements. The frontiers, though not restored to perfect tranquillity, experienced an exemption from a great proportion of the calamities, in which they had been lately involved.

Though these good consequences resulted from this expedition, yet about the time of its commencement, and before its termination, several detached parties of Indians distressed different settlements in the United States. A party of 60 Indians, and 27 white men, under Brandt, attacked the Minisink settlement, and burnt 10 houses, 12 barns, a fort and two mills, and carried off much plunder, together with several prisoners. The militia from Goshen and the vicinity, to the amount of 149, collected and pursued them, but with so little caution that they were surprized and defeated. About this time general Williamson and colonel Pickens, both of South-Carolina, entered the Indian country adjacent to the frontier of their state, burned and destroyed the corn of eight towns, and insisted upon the Indians removing immediately from their late habitations into more remote settlements.

In the same month, colonel Broadhead engaged in a successful expedition against the Mingo, Munsey, and Seneca Indians. He left Pittsburgh with 605 men, and was gone about five weeks, in which time he penetrated about 200 miles from the fort, destroyed a number of Indian huts, and about five hundred acres of corn.

The state of New-York continued to suffer in its frontier, from Indians and their tory associates. These burnt 50 houses, and 47 barns, the principal part of Canijohary, a fine settlement about 56 miles from Albany. They also destroyed 27 houses at Schoharie, and 20 at Norman's creek. In about two months after <sup>August,</sup> they made a second irruption, and attacked Stone <sup>1780.</sup> Arabia, Canasioraga, and Schoharie. At the same time, they laid waste a great extent of country about the Mohawk river, killed a number of settlers, and made <sup>October.</sup> many prisoners.

The Cherokee Indians, having forgot the consequences of provoking the Americans to invade their settlements in the year 1776, made an incursion into Ninety-Six district in South-Carolina, massacred some families, and burned several houses. General Pickens <sup>1781.</sup> collected a party of militia, and penetrated into their country. This he accomplished in fourteen days, at the head of 394 horsemen. In that short space, he burned thirteen towns and villages, killed upwards of 40 Indians, and took a number of prisoners. Not one of his party was killed, and only two were wounded. None of the expeditions against the Cherokees had been so rapid and decisive as this one. The Americans did not expend three rounds of ammunition, and yet only three Indians escaped after having been once seen. On this occasion a new and successful mode of fighting them was introduced. The American militia rushed forwards on horse back, and charged the Indians with drawn swords. The vanquished Cherokees again sued for peace, in the most submissive terms, and obtained it, but not till they had promised, that instead of listening to the advice of the royalists, instigating them to war, they would deliver to the authority of the state

of South-Carolina, all who should visit them on that errand.

1782. Towards the end of the war, there was a barbarous and unprovoked massacre of some civilized Indians, who had been settled near the Muskingum. These, under the influence of some pious missionaries of the Moravian persuasion, had been formed into some degree of civil and religious order. They abhorred war, and would take no part therein, giving for reason, that "The Great Being did not make men to destroy men, but to love and assist each other." From a love of peace, they advised those of their own colour who were bent on war, to desist from it. They were also led from humanity, to inform the white people of their danger, when they knew that their settlements were about to be invaded. This provoked the hostile Indians to such a degree, that they carried these pacific people quite away from Muskingum to a bank of Sandusky creek. They finding corn dear and scarce in their new habitations, obtained liberty to come back in the fall of the same year to Muskingum, that they might collect the crops they had planted before their removal.

When the white people, at and near Monongahala, heard that a number of Indians were at the Moravian towns, on the Muskingum, they gave out that their intentions were hostile. Without any further enquiry, 160 of them crossed the Ohio, and put to death these harmless, inoffensive people, though they made no resistance. In conformity to their religious principles, these Moravians patiently submitted to their hard fate, without attempting to destroy their murderers. Upwards of ninety of this pacific set were killed by men, who while they called themselves christians, were infinitely more deserving of the name of savages than those whom they inhumanly murdered.

Soon after this unprovoked massacre, a party of the Americans set out for Sandusky, to destroy the Indian towns in that part; but the Delawares, Wyandots, and other Indians, opposed them. An engagement ensued, in which some of the white people were killed, and several were taken prisoners. Among the latter, was colonel Crawford, and his son-in-law. The colonel was sacrificed to the manes of those Indians, who were massacred at the Moravian towns. The other prisoners were put to death with the tomahawk.

Throughout the American war, the desolation brought by the Indians on the frontier settlements of the United States, and on the Indians by the Americans, were sufficient to excite compassion in the most obdurate hearts.

Not only the men and warriors, but the women and children, and whole settlements were involved in the promiscuous desolations. Each was made a scourge to the other, and the unavoidable calamities of war were rendered doubly distressing, by the dispersion of families, the breaking up of settlements, and an addition of savage cruelties to the most extensive devastation of those things, which conduce to the comfort of human life.

---

## CHAPTER XIX.

### *Campaign of 1780 in the Southern States.*

THE successful defence of Savannah, together with the subsequent departure of count D'Estaing from the coast of the United States, soon dissipated all appre-

hensions previously entertained for the safety of New-York. These circumstances pointed out to sir Henry Clinton, the propriety of renewing offensive operations. Having effected nothing of importance for the two preceding campaigns, he turned his attention southwardly, and regaled himself with flattering prospects of easy conquest, among the weaker states. The suitableness of the climate for winter operations, the richness of the country, and its distance from support, designated South-Carolina as a proper object of enterprize. No sooner therefore was the departure of the French fleet known and confirmed, than sir Henry Clinton committed the command of the royal army in New-York to lieutenant general Kniphausen, and embarked for the southward, with four flank battalions, 12 regiments, and a corps British, Hessian and provincial, a powerful detachment of artillery, 250 cavalry, together with an ample supply of military stores and provisions. Vice admiral Arbuthnot, with a suitable naval force, undertook to convey the troops to the place of their destination. The whole sailed from New-York, After a tedious and dangerous passage, in which part of their ordnance, most of their artillery, and all their cavalry horses were lost, the fleet arrived at Tybee in Georgia. In a few days, the transports with the army on board, sailed from Savannah for North-Edisto, and after a short passage, the troops made good their landing about 30 miles from Charleston, and took possession of John's Island and Stono-Ferry, and soon after of James Island, and Wappoo-cut. A bridge was thrown over the canal, and part of the royal army took post on the banks of Ashley river, opposite to Charleston.

The assembly of the state was sitting when the Brit-

ish landed, but broke up after "delegating to governor Rutledge, and such of his council as he could conveniently consult, a power to do every thing necessary for the public good, except the taking away the life of a citizen without a legal trial." The governor immediately ordered the militia to rendezvous. Though the necessity was great, few obeyed the pressing call. A proclamation was issued by the governor, under his extraordinary powers, requiring such of the militia as were regularly drafted, and all the inhabitants and owners of property in the town, to repair to the American standard and join the garrison immediately, under pain of confiscation. This severe though necessary measure, produced very little effect. The country was much dispirited, by the late repulse at Savannah.

The tedious passage from New-York to Tybee, gave the Americans time to fortify Charleston. This, together with the losses which the royal army had sustained in the late tempestuous weather, induced sir Henry Clinton to despatch an order to New-York, for reinforcements of men and stores. He also directed major general Prevost, to send on to him twelve hundred men from the garrison of Savannah. Brigadier general Patterson, at the head of this detachment, made his way good over the river Savannah, and through the intermediate country, and soon after joined sir Henry Clinton near the banks of Ashley river. The royal forces without delay, proceeded to the siege. At Wappoo on James Island, they formed a depot, and erected fortifications both on that island and on the main, opposite to the southern and western extremities of Charleston. An Mar. 29. advanced party crossed Ashley river, and soon after broke ground at the distance of 1100 yards from the American works. At successive periods, they erected

five batteries on Charleston neck. The garrison was equally assiduous in preparing for its defence. The works which had been previously thrown up, were strengthened and extended. Lines and redoubts were continued across, from Cooper to Ashley river. In front of the whole, was a strong abbatiss, and a wet ditch, made by passing a canal from the heads of swamps, which run in opposite directions. Between the abbatiss and the lines, deep holes were dug at short intervals. The lines were made particularly strong on the right and left, and so constructed, as to rake the wet ditch in almost its whole extent. To secure the centre, a horn work had been erected, which being closed during the siege, formed a kind of citadel. Works were also thrown up on all sides of the town, where a landing was practicable. Though the lines were no more than field-works, yet sir Henry Clinton treated them with the respectful homage of three parallels. From the 3d to the 10th of April, the first parallel was completed, and immediately after, the town was summoned to surrender. On the 12th, the batteries were opened, and from that day, an almost incessant fire was kept up. About the time the batteries were opened, a work was thrown up near Wando river, nine miles from town, and another at Lempriere's point, to preserve the communication with the country by water. A post was also ordered at a ferry over the Santee, to favour the coming in of reinforcements, or the retreat of the garrison when necessary. The British marine force, consisting of one ship of fifty guns, two of forty-four guns, four of thirty-two, and the Sandwich armed ship, crossed the bar in front of Rebellion road, and anchored in Five fathom hole. The American force opposed to this, was the Bricole, which though pierced for forty-four guns, did not mount half of that number, two

Mar. 21.

of 32 guns, one of 28, two of 26, two of 20, and the brig *Notre Dame* of 16 guns. The first object of its commander, commodore Whipple, was to prevent admiral Arbuthnot from crossing the bar, but on farther examination, this was found to be impracticable. He therefore fell back to Fort Moultrie, and afterwards to Charleston. The crew and guns of all his vessels, except one, were put on shore to reinforce the batteries.

Admiral Arbuthnot weighed anchor at Five fathom hole, and with the advantage of a strong southerly wind, and flowing tide, passed Fort Moultrie without stopping to engage it, and anchored near the remains of Fort Johnson. Colonel Pinckney who commanded on Sullivan's Island, kept up a brisk and well directed fire on the ships in their passage, which did as great execution as could be expected. To prevent the royal armed vessels from running into Cooper river, eleven vessels were sunk in the channel, opposite to the exchange. The batteries of the besiegers soon obtained a superiority over those of the town. The former had 24 mortars and royals, the latter only two. The regular force in the garrison, was much inferior to that of the besiegers, and but few of the militia could be persuaded to leave their plantations, and reinforce their brethren in the capital. A camp was formed at Monk's corner, to keep up the communication between the town and country, and the militia without the lines, were requested to rendezvous there: but this was surprized and routed by lieutenant colonel Tarleton. The British having now less to fear, extended themselves to the eastward of Cooper river. Two hundred and fifty horse, and 600 infantry were detached on this service, but nevertheless, in the opinion of a council of war, the weak state of the garrison, made it improper to

April 9.

April 16.

18.



detach a number sufficient to attack that small  
 April 20. force. About this time, sir Henry Clinton received a reinforcement of 3000 men from New-York.

21. A second council of war, held four days after the first, agreed that "a retreat would be attended with many distressing inconveniences, if not altogether impracticable, "and advised, "that offers of a capitulation, before their affairs became more critical, should be made to general Clinton, which might admit of the army's withdrawing, and afford security to the persons and property of the inhabitants." These terms being proposed, were instantly rejected, but the garrison adhered to them, in hopes that succours would arrive from the neighbouring states. The bare offer of capitulating, dispirited the garrison, but they continued to resist in expectation of favourable events. The British speedily completed the investure of the town, both by land and water. After admiral Arbuthnot had passed Sullivan's Island, colonel Pinckney, with 150 of the men under his command, were withdrawn from that post to Charleston.

May 6. Soon after, the fort on the island was surrendered without opposition, to captain Hudson of the royal navy. On the same day, the remains of the American cavalry, which escaped from the surprize at Monk's corner, on the 14th of April, which were again surprized by lieutenant colonel Tarleton at Lanear's ferry on Santee, and the whole either killed, captured, or dispersed. While every thing prospered with the British, sir Henry Clinton began a correspondence with general Lincoln, and renewed his former offers to the garrison, in case of their surrender. Lincoln was disposed to close with them, as far as they respected his army, but some demur was made, with a view of gaining better terms for the citizens, which it was hoped might be

obtained on a conference. This was asked: but Clinton instead of granting it, answered "that hostilities should recommence at 8 o'clock." Nevertheless, neither party fired till nine. The garrison then recommenced hostilities. The besiegers immediately followed, and each cannonaded the other with unusual briskness. The British batteries of the third parallel opened on this occasion. Shells and carcasses were thrown into almost all parts of the town, and several houses were burned. The cannon and mortars played on the garrison at a less distance than a hundred yards. The Hessian chasseurs were so near the American lines, that with their rifles they could easily strike any object that was visible on them. The British having crossed the wet ditch by sap, advanced within 25 yards of the American works, and were ready for making a general assault by land and water. All expectation of succour was at an end. The only hope left was that 9000 men, the flower of the British army, seconded by a naval force, might fail in storming extensive lines defended by less than 3000 men. Under these circumstances, the siege was protracted to the 11th of May. On that day, a great number of citizens addressed general Lincoln in a petition, expressing their acquiescence in the terms which sir Henry Clinton had offered, and requesting his acceptance of them. On the reception of this petition, general Lincoln wrote to sir Henry, and offered to accept the terms before proposed. The royal commanders wishing to avoid the extremity of a storm, and unwilling to press to unconditional submission, an enemy whose friendship they wished to conciliate, returned a favourable answer. A capitulation was signed, and major general Leslie took possession of the town on the next day. The loss on both sides during the siege, was nearly equal. Of the king's

May 12.

troops, 76 were killed, and 189 wounded. Of the Americans, 89 were killed, and 140 wounded. Upwards of 400 pieces of artillery were surrendered. By the articles of capitulation, the garrison was to march out of town, and to deposit their arms in front of the works, but the drums were not to beat a British march, nor the colours to be uncased. The continental troops and seamen were to keep their baggage, and remain prisoners of war till exchanged. The militia were to be permitted to return to their respective homes as prisoners on parole, and while they adhered to their parole, were not to be molested by the British troops in person or property. The inhabitants of all conditions to be considered as prisoners on parole, and to hold their property on the same terms with the militia. The officers of the army and navy to retain their servants, swords, pistols, and baggage unsearched. They were permitted to sell their horses, but not to remove them; a vessel was allowed to proceed to Philadelphia with general Lincoln's despatches unopened.

The numbers which surrendered prisoners of war, inclusive of the militia, and every adult male inhabitant, was above 5000, but the proper garrison at the time of the surrender did not exceed 2500. The precise number of privates in the continental army was 19<sup>2</sup>77, of which 500 were in the hospitals. The captive officers were much more in proportion than the privates, and consisted of one major general, 6 brigadiers, 9 colonels, 14 lieutenant colonels, 15 majors, 84 captains, 84 lieutenants, 32 second lieutenants and ensigns. The gentlemen of the country, who were mostly militia officers, from a sense of honour repaired to the defence of Charleston, though they could not bring with them privates equal to their respective commands. The regular regiments were fully officered, though greatly deficient in privates.

This was the first instance, in which the Americans had attempted to defend a town. The unsuccessful event, with its consequences, demonstrated the policy of sacrificing the towns of the Union, in preference to endangering the whole, by risking too much for their defence.

Much censure was undeservedly cast on general Lincoln, for attempting the defence of Charleston. Though the contrary plan was in general the best, he had particular reasons to justify his deviation from the example of the commander in chief of the American army. Charleston was the only considerable town in the southern extreme of the confederacy, and for its preservation, South-Carolina and the adjacent states seemed willing to make great exertions. The reinforcements, promised for its defence, were fully sufficient for that purpose. The congress, and the states of North and South-Carolina, gave general Lincoln ground to expect an army of 9900 men to second his operations, but from a variety of causes this army, including the militia, was little more than a third of that number. As long as an evacuation was practicable, he had such assurances of support, that he could not attempt it with propriety. Before the futility of these assurances could be ascertained, the British had taken such a position, that in the opinion of good judges a retreat could not be successfully made.

Shortly after the surrender, the commander in chief adopted sundry measures to induce the inhabitants to return to their allegiance. It was stated to them in a hand bill, which, though without a name, seemed to flow from authority: "That the helping hand of every man was wanting to reestablish peace and good government—that the commander in chief wished not to draw them into danger, while any doubt could remain of his success, but as that was now certain, he trusted that one

and all would heartily join, and give effect to necessary measures for that purpose." Those who had families were informed "That they would be permitted to remain at home, and form a militia for the maintenance of peace and good order, but from those who had no families it was expected that they would cheerfully assist in driving their oppressors, and all the miseries of war, from their borders." To such it was promised, "That when on service, they would be allowed pay, ammunition and provisions in the same manner as the king's troops."

May 22. About the same time, sir Henry Clinton, in a proclamation, declared, "That if any person should thenceforward appear in arms in order to prevent the establishment of his majesty's government in that country, or should under any pretence or authority whatever, attempt to compel any other person or persons so to do, or who should hinder the king's faithful subjects from joining his forces, or from performing those duties their allegiance required, such persons should be treated

June 1. with the utmost severity, and their estates be immediately seized for confiscation." In a few days after, sir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, in the character of commissioners for restoring peace, offered to the inhabitants, with some exceptions, "Pardon for their past treasonable offences, and a reinstatement in the possession of all those rights and immunities which they heretofore had enjoyed under a free British government, exempt from taxation, except by their own legislatures."

The capital having surrendered, the next object with the British was to secure the general submission of the whole body of the people.

To this end, they posted garrisons in different parts of the country to awe the inhabitants. They also marched with upwards of 2000 men towards North-Carolina.

This caused an immediate retreat of some parties of Americans, who had advanced into the northern extremity of South-Carolina, with the expectation of relieving Charleston. One of these, consisting of about 300 continentals, commanded by colonel Buford, was overtaken at Waxhaws by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, and completely defeated. Five out of six of the whole were either killed or so badly wounded, as to be incapable of being moved from the field of battle; and this took place though they made such ineffectual opposition as only to kill twelve and wound five of the British. This great disproportion of the killed on the two sides, arose from the circumstance that Tarleton's party refused quarter to the Americans, after they had ceased to resist and laid down their arms.

Sir Henry Clinton having left about 4000 men for the southern service, embarked early in June with the main army for New-York. On his departure the command devolved on lieutenant general Cornwallis. The season of the year, the condition of the army, and the unsettled state of South-Carolina, impeded the immediate invasion of North-Carolina. Earl Cornwallis despatched instructions to the principal loyalists in that state, to attend to the harvest, prepare provisions, and remain quiet till the latter end of August or beginning of September. His lordship committed the care of the frontier to lord Rawdon, and repairing to Charleston, devoted his principal attention to the commercial and civil regulations of South-Carolina. In the mean time, the impossibility of fleeing with their families and effects, and the want of an army to which the militia of the states might repair, induced the people in the country, to abandon all schemes of farther resistance. At Beaufort, Camden, and Ninety-Six, they generally laid

down their arms, and submitted either as prisoners or as subjects. Excepting the extremities of the state bordering on North-Carolina, the inhabitants who did not flee out of the country preferred submission to resistance. This was followed by an unusual calm, and the British believed that the state was thoroughly conquered. An opportunity was now given to make an experiment from which much was expected, and for the omission of which, sir Henry Clinton's predecessor, sir William Howe, had been severely censured. It had been confidently asserted, that a majority of the Americans were well affected to the British government, and that under proper regulations, substantial service might be expected from them, in restoring the country to peace. At this crisis every bias in favour of congress was removed. Their armies in the southern states were either captured or defeated. There was no regular force to the southward of Pennsylvania, which was sufficient to awe the friends of royal government. Every encouragement was held forth to those of the inhabitants who would with arms support the old constitution. Confiscation and death were threatened as the consequence of opposing its reestablishment. While there was no regular army within 400 miles to aid the friends of independence, the British were in force posted over all the country. The people were thus left to themselves, or rather strongly impelled to abandon an apparently sinking cause, and arrange themselves on the side of the conquerors. Under these favourable circumstances, the experiment was made, for supporting the British interest by the exertion of loyal inhabitants, unawed by American armies or republican demagogues. It soon appeared that the disguise which fear had imposed, subsisted no longer than the present danger, and that the

minds of the people, though overawed, were actuated by an hostile spirit. In prosecuting the scheme for obtaining a military aid from the inhabitants, that tranquillity which previous successes had procured was disturbed, and that ascendancy which arms had gained was interrupted. The inducement to submission with many, was a hope of obtaining a respite from the calamities of war, under the shelter of British protection. Such were not less astonished than confounded, on finding themselves virtually called upon to take arms in support of royal government. This was done in the following manner. After the inhabitants, by the specious promises of protection and security, had generally submitted as subjects, or taken their parole as prisoners of war, a proclamation was issued by sir Henry Clinton, which set forth, "That it was proper for all persons to take an active part in settling and securing his majesty's government"—and in which it was declared, "That all the inhabitants of the province who were then prisoners on parole, (those who were taken in Fort Moultrie and Charleston, and such as were in actual confinement, excepted) should, from and after the 20th of June, be freed from their paroles, and restored to all the rights and duties belonging to citizens and inhabitants." And it was in the same proclamation farther declared, "that all persons under the description above mentioned, who should afterwards neglect to return to their allegiance, and to his majesty's government, should be considered as enemies and rebels to the same, and treated accordingly." It was designed by this arbitrary change of the political condition of the inhabitants from prisoners to citizens, to bring them into a dilemma, which would force them to take an active part in settling and securing the royal government. It involved a majority in the



necessity of either fleeing out of the country, or of becoming a British militia. With this proclamation the declension of British authority commenced, for though the inhabitants, from motives of fear or convenience, had generally submitted, the greatest part of them retained an affection for their American brethren, and shuddered at the thought of taking arms against them. Among such it was said, "if we must fight, let it be on the side of America, our friends and countrymen." A great number considering this proclamation as a discharge from their paroles, armed themselves in self-defence, being induced thereto by the royal menaces, that they who did not return to their allegiance as British subjects, must expect to be treated as rebels. A greater number from being in the power of the British, exchanged their paroles as prisoners for the protection of subjects, but this was done in many cases, with a secret reservation of breaking the compulsory engagement, when a proper opportunity should present itself.

A party always attached to royal government, though they had conformed to the laws of the state, rejoiced in the ascendancy of the royal arms, but their number was inconsiderable, in comparison with the multitude who were obliged by necessity, or induced by convenience, to accept of British protection.

The precautions taken to prevent the rising of the royalists in North-Carolina, did not answer the end. Several of the inhabitants of Tryon county, under the direction of colonel Moore, took up arms, and were in a few days defeated by the whig militia, commanded by general Rutherford. Colonel Bryan, another loyalist, though equally injudicious as to time, was successful. He reached the 71st regiment, stationed in the Cheraws, with about 800 men, assembled from the neighbourhood of the river Yadkin.

While the conquerors were endeavouring to strengthen the party for royal government, the Americans were not inattentive to their interests. Governor Rutledge, who during the siege of Charleston had been requested by general Lincoln to go out of town, was industriously and successfully negotiating with North-Carolina, Virginia and congress, to obtain a force for checking the progress of the British arms. Representations to the same effect, had also been made in due time by general Lincoln. Congress ordered a considerable detachment from their main army, to be marched to the southward. North-Carolina also ordered a large body of militia to take the field. As the British advanced to the upper country of South-Carolina, a considerable number of determined whigs retreated before them, and took refuge in North-Carolina. In this class was colonel Sumpter, a distinguished partizan, who was well qualified for conducting military operations. A party of exiles from South-Carolina, made choice of him for their leader. At the head of this little band of freemen, he returned to his own state, and took the field against the victorious British, after the inhabitants had generally abandoned all ideas of farther resistance. This unexpected impediment to the extension of British conquests, roused all the passions which disappointed ambition could inspire. Previous successes had flattered the royal commanders with hopes of distinguished rank among the conquerors of America, but the renewal of hostilities obscured the pleasing prospect. Flushed with the victories they had gained in the first of the campaign, and believing every thing told them favourable to their wishes, to be true, they conceived that they had little to fear on the south side of Virginia. When experience refuted these hopes, they were transported with indignation against the in-

habitants, and confined several of them on suspicion of their being accessory to the recommencement of hostilities.

The first effort of renewed warfare, was two months after the fall of Charleston, when 133 of colonel <sup>July, 12.</sup> Sumter's corps attacked and routed a detachment of the royal forces and militia, which were posted in a lane at Williamson's plantation. This was the first advantage gained over the British, since their landing in the beginning of the year. The steady, persevering friends of America, who were very numerous in the north-western frontier of South-Carolina, turned out with great alacrity to join colonel Sumter, though opposition to the British government had entirely ceased in every other part of the state. His troops in a few days amounted to 600 men. With this increase of strength, he made a spirited attack on a party of the British at Rocky Mount, but as he had no artillery, and they were secured under cover of earth filled in between logs, he could make no impression upon them, and was obliged to retreat. Sensible that the minds of men are influenced by enterprize, and that to keep militia together, it is necessary to employ them, this active partizan attacked another of the royal detachments, consisting of the prince of Wales' regiment, and a large body of tories, posted at the Hanging Rock. The prince of Wales' regiment was almost totally destroyed. From 278, it was reduced to 9. The loyalists who were of that party which had advanced from North-Carolina under colonel Bryan, were dispersed. The panic occasioned by the fall of Charleston, daily abated. The whig militia on the extremities of the state, formed themselves into parties under leaders of their own choice, and sometimes attacked detachments of the British army, but more frequently those of their

own countrymen, who as a royal militia were cooperating with the king's forces. While Sumter kept up the spirits of the people by a succession of gallant enterprises, a respectable continental force was advancing through the middle states, for the relief of their southern brethren. With the hopes of relieving Charleston, orders were given for the Maryland and Delaware <sup>Mar. 26.</sup> troops to march from general Washington's head quarters to South-Carolina, but the quarter master general was unable to put this detachment in motion as soon as was intended.

The manufacturers employed in providing for the army, would neither go on with their business, nor deliver the articles they had completed, declaring they had suffered so much from the depreciation of the money, that they would not part with their property without immediate payment. Under these embarrassing circumstances, the southern states required an aid from the northern army, to be marched through the intermediate space of 800 miles. The Maryland and Delaware troops were with great exertions at length enabled to move. After marching through Jersey and Penn- <sup>April 16.</sup> sylvania, they embarked at the Head of Elk, and landed soon after at Petersburg, and thence proceeded through the country towards South-Carolina. This force was at first put under the command of major general baron de Kalb, and afterwards of general Gates. The success of the latter in the northern campaigns of 1776 and 1777, induced many to believe that his presence as commander of the southern army, would reanimate the friends of independence. While baron de Kalb commanded, a council of war had advised him to file off from the direct road to Camden, towards the well cultivated settlements in the vicinity of the

Waxhaws: but general Gates on taking the command did not conceive this movement to be necessary, supposing it to be most for the interest of the states, that he should proceed immediately with his army, on the shortest road to the vicinity of the British encampment. This led through a barren country, in passing over which, the Americans severely felt the scarcity of provisions. Their murmurs became audible, and there were strong appearances of mutiny, but the officers who shared every calamity in common with the privates, interposed, and conciliated them to a patient sufferance of their hard lot. They principally subsisted on lean cattle, picked up in the woods. The whole army was under the necessity of using green corn, and peaches in place of bread. They were subsisted for several days on the latter alone. Dysenteries became common in consequence of this diet. The heat of the season, and unhealthiness of the climate, together with insufficient and unwholesome food, threatened destruction to the army. The common soldiers, instead of desponding, began after some time to be merry with their misfortunes. They used "starvation" as a cant word, and vied with each other in burlesquing their situation. The wit and humour displayed on the occasion, contributed not a little to reconcile them to their sufferings. The

Aug. 13. American army, having made its way through a country of pine-barren, sand-hills and swamps, reached Clermont, 13 miles from Camden. The next

14. day general Stephens arrived with a large body of Virginia militia.

As the American army approached South-Carolina, lord Rawdon concentrated his force at Camden. The retreat of the British from their out posts, the advances of the American army, and the impolitic conduct of the

conquerors towards their new subjects, concurred at this juncture to produce a general revolt in favour of congress! The people were daily more dissatisfied with their situation. Tired of war, they had submitted to British government with the expectation of bettering their condition, but they soon found their mistake. The greatest address should have been practised towards the inhabitants, in order to second the views of the parent state in reuniting the revolted colonies to her government. That the people might be induced to return to the condition of subjects, their minds and affections, as well as their armies, ought to have been conquered. This delicate task was rarely attempted. The officers, privates, and followers of the royal army, were generally more intent on amassing fortunes by plunder and rapine, than on promoting a reunion of the dissevered members of the empire. Instead of increasing the number of real friends to royal government, they disgusted those that they found. The high spirited citizens of Carolina, impatient of their rapine and insolence, rejoiced in the prospect of freeing their country from its oppressors. Motives of this kind, together with a prevailing attachment to the cause of independence, induced many to break through all ties to join general Gates, and more to wish him the completest success.

The similarity of language and appearance between the British and American armies, gave opportunities for imposing on the inhabitants. Lieutenant colonel Tarleton with a party, by assuming the name and dress of Americans, passed themselves near Black river, for the advance of general Gates' army. Some of the neighbouring militia were eagerly collected by Mr. Bradley, to cooperate with their supposed friends, but after some time the veil being thrown aside, Bradley and his vol-

unteers were carried to Camden, and confined there as prisoners.

General Gates on reaching the frontier of South-Carolina, issued a proclamation inviting the patriotic citizens "to join heartily in rescuing themselves and their country, from the oppression of a government imposed on them by the ruffian hand of conquest." He also gave "assurances of forgiveness and perfect security, to such of the unfortunate citizens as had been induced by the terror of sanguinary punishment, the menace of confiscation, and the arbitrary measures of military domination, apparently to acquiesce under the British government, and to make a forced declaration of allegiance and support to a tyranny, which the indignant souls of citizens resolved on freedom, inwardly revolted at with horror and detestation," excepting only from this amnesty "those who in the hour of devastation, had exercised acts of barbarity and depredation on the persons and property of their fellow citizens." The army with which Gates advanced, was by the arrival of Stephens' militia, increased nearly to 4000 men, but of this large number, the whole regular force was only 900 infantry and 70 cavalry. On the approach of Gates, earl Cornwallis hastened from Charleston to Camden, and arrived there on the 14th. The force which his lordship found collected on his arrival, was 1700 infantry and 300 cavalry. This inferior number would have justified a retreat, but he chose rather to stake his fortune on the decision of a battle. On the night of the 15th, he marched from Camden with his whole force, intending to attack the Americans in their camp at Clermont. In the same night Gates, after ordering his baggage to the Waxhaws, put his army in motion, with an intention of advancing to an eligible position, about 8 miles from Camden. The Ameri-

can army was ordered to march at 10 o'clock P. M. in the following order. Colonel Armand's advance cavalry. Colonel Porterfield's light infantry, on the right flank of colonel Armand's in Indian file, 200 yards from the road. Major Armstrong's light infantry in the same order as colonel Porterfield's on the left flank of the legion advanced guard of foot, composed of the advanced piquets, first brigade of Maryland, second brigade of Maryland—division of North-Carolina, Virginia rear guard, volunteer cavalry, upon flanks of the baggage equally divided. The light infantry upon each flank were ordered to march up and support the cavalry, if it should be attacked by the British cavalry, and colonel Armand was directed in that case to stand the attack at all events.

The advance of both armies met in the night and engaged. Some of the cavalry of Armand's legion, being wounded in the first fire, fell back on others, who recoiled so suddenly, that the first Maryland regiment was broken, and the whole line of the army was thrown into confusion. This first impression struck deep, and dispirited the militia. The American army soon recovered its order, and both they and their adversaries kept their ground, and occasionally skirmished through the night. Colonel Porterfield, a most excellent officer, on whose abilities general Gates particularly depended, was wounded in the early part of this night attack. In the morning a severe and general engagement took place. At the first onset, a great body of the Virginia militia, who formed the left wing of the army, on being charged with fixed bayonets by the British infantry, threw down their arms, and with the utmost precipitation fled from the field. A considerable part of the North-Carolina militia followed the unworthy example, but the continentals, who formed the right wing of the



army, inferior as they were in numbers to the British, stood their ground and maintained the conflict with great resolution. Never did men acquit themselves better: for some time they had clearly the advantage of their opponents, and were in possession of a considerable body of prisoners: overpowered at last by numbers, and nearly surrounded by the enemy, they were compelled reluctantly to leave the ground. In justice to the North-Carolina militia, it should be remarked, that part of the brigade commanded by general Gregory acquitted themselves well. They were formed immediately on the left of the continentals, and kept the field while they had a cartridge to fire. General Gregory himself was twice wounded by a bayonet in bringing off his men, and several of his brigade, who were made prisoners, had no wounds except from bayonets.\* Two hundred and ninety American wounded prisoners were carried into Camden, after this action. Of this number 206 were continentals, 82 were North-Carolina militia, and 2 were Virginia militia. The resistance made by each corps, may in some degree be estimated from the number of wounded. The Americans lost the whole of their artillery, eight field pieces, upwards of 200 waggons, and the greatest part of their baggage. Almost all their officers were separated from their respective commands. Every corps was broken in action and dispersed. The fugitives who fled by the common road, were pursued above 20 miles by the horse of Tarleton's legion, and the way was covered with arms, baggage and waggons. Baron de Kalb, the second in command, a brave and experienced officer, was taken prisoner and died on the

\* This detail was furnished by Mr. Williamson, surgeon-general of the North-Carolina militia, who after the battle went into Camden with a flag.

next day of his wounds. The baron, who was a German by birth, had long been in the French service. He had travelled through the British provinces about the time of the stamp act, and is said to have reported to his superiors on his return, "that the colonists were so firmly and universally attached to Great-Britain, that nothing could shake their loyalty." The congress resolved that a monument should be erected to his memory in Annapolis, with a very honourable inscription. General Rutherford of North-Carolina, was wounded and taken prisoner.

The royal army fought with great bravery, but the completeness of their victory was in a great degree owing to their superiority in cavalry, and the precipitate flight of the American militia. Their whole loss is supposed to have amounted to several hundreds. To add to the distresses of the Americans, the defeat of Gates was immediately followed by the surprize and dispersion of Sumter's corps. While the former was advancing near to the British army, the latter, who had previously taken post between Camden and Charleston, took a number of prisoners, and captured sundry British stores, together with their convoy. On hearing of the defeat of his superior officer, he began to retreat with his prisoners and stores. Tarleton, with his legion, and a detachment of infantry, pursued with such celerity and address, as to overtake and surprize this party at Fishing Creek. The British rode into their camp before they were prepared for defence. The retreating Americans, having been four days with little or no sleep, were more obedient to the calls of nature, than attentive to her first law, self-preservation. Sumter had taken every prudent precaution to prevent a surprize, but his videttes were so overcome with fatigue, that they neglect-

ed their duty. With great difficulty he got a few to stand their ground for a short time, but the greater part of his corps fled to the river or the woods. He lost all his artillery, and his whole detachment was either killed, captured or dispersed. The prisoners he had lately taken, were all retaken. On the 17th and 18th of August, about 150 of Gates' army rendezvoused at Charlotte. These had reason to apprehend that they would be immediately pursued and cut to pieces. There was no magazine of provisions in the town, and it was without any kind of defence. It was therefore concluded to retreat to Salisbury. A circumstantial detail of this, would be the picture of complicated wretchedness.—There were more wounded men than could be conveniently carried off. The inhabitants hourly expecting the British to advance into their settlement, and generally intending to flee, could not attend to the accommodation of the suffering soldiers. Objects of distress occurred in every quarter. There were many who stood in need of kind assistance, but there were few who could give it to them. Several men were to be seen with but one arm, and some without any. Anxiety, pain and dejection, poverty, hurry and confusion, promiscuously marked the gloomy scene. Under these circumstances the remains of that numerous army, which had lately caused such terror to the friends of Great-Britain, retreated to Salisbury and soon after to Hillsborough. General Gates had previously retired to this last place, and was there in concert with the government of North-Carolina, devising plans of defence, and for renewing military operations.

Though there was no army to oppose lord Cornwallis, yet the season and bad health of his army, restrained him from pursuing his conquests. By the complete

dispersion of the continental forces, the country was in his power. The present moment of triumph, seemed therefore the most favourable conjuncture for breaking the spirits of those who were attached to independence. To prevent their future cooperation with the armies of congress, a severer policy was henceforward adopted.

Unfortunately for the inhabitants, this was taken up on grounds which involved thousands in distress, and not a few in the loss of life. The British conceived themselves in possession of the rights of sovereignty over a conquered country, and that therefore the efforts of the citizens to assert their independence, exposed them to the penal consequences of treason and rebellion. Influenced by these opinions, and transported with indignation against the inhabitants, they violated the rights which are held sacred between independent hostile nations. Orders were given by lord Cornwallis "that all the inhabitants of the province, who had submitted, and who had taken part in this revolt, should be punished with the greatest rigour—that they should be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them or destroyed." He also ordered in the most positive manner, "that every militia man, who had borne arms with the British, and afterwards joined the Americans, should be put to death." At Augusta, at Camden, and elsewhere, several of the inhabitants were hanged in consequence of these orders. The men who suffered, had been compelled by the necessities of their families, and the prospect of saving their property, to make an involuntary submission to the royal conquerors. Experience soon taught them the inefficacy of these submissions. This in their opinion absolved them from the obligations of their engagements to support the royal cause, and left them at liberty to follow their inclinations. To

treat men thus circumstanced, with the severity of punishment usually inflicted on deserters and traitors, might have a political tendency to discourage farther revolts, but the impartial world must regret that the unavoidable horrors of war, should be aggravated by such deliberate effusions of human blood.

Notwithstanding the decisive superiority of the British armies in South-Carolina, several of the most respectable citizens, though in the power of their conquerors, resisted every temptation to resume the character of subjects. To enforce a general submission, orders were given by lord Cornwallis immediately after his victory, to send out of South-Carolina a number of its principal citizens. Lieutenant governor Gadsden, most of the civil and militia officers and some others, who had declined exchanging their paroles for the protection of

Aug. 27. British subjects, were taken up, put on board a vessel in the harbour, and sent to St. Augustine. General Moultrie remonstrated against the confinement and removal of these gentlemen, as contrary to their rights derived from the capitulation of Charleston. They at the same time challenged their adversaries to prove any conduct of theirs, which merited expulsion from their country and families. They received no farther satisfaction, than that the measure had been "adopted from motives of policy." To convince the inhabitants that the conquerors were seriously resolved to remove from the country, all who refused to become subjects, an additional number of about thirty citizens of South-Carolina, who remained prisoners on parole, were sent off to the same place in less than three months. General Rutherford and colonel Isaacs, both of North-Carolina, who had been lately taken near Camden, were associated with them.

To compel the reestablishment of British government, lord Cornwallis, in about four weeks after his victory, issued a proclamation for the sequestration of all estates belonging to the active friends of independence. By this he constituted "John Cruden commissioner, with full power and authority, on the receipt of an order or warrant, to take into his possession the estates both real and personal (not included in the capitulation of Charleston) of those in the service or acting under the authority of the rebel congress, and also the estates, both real and personal, of those persons who by an open avowal of rebellious principles, or by other notorious acts, manifested a wicked and desperate perseverance in opposing the reestablishment of his majesty's just and lawful authority;" and it was farther declared "That, any person or persons obstructing or impeding the said commissioner in the execution of his duty, by the concealment or removal of property or otherwise, should on conviction be punished as aiding and abetting rebellion." Sept. 16.

An adherent to independence was now considered as one who courted exile, poverty and ruin. Many yielded to the temptation, and became British subjects. The mischievous effects of slavery, in facilitating the conquest of the country, now became apparent. As the slaves had no interest at stake, the subjugation of the state was a matter of no consequence to them. Instead of aiding in its defence, they by a variety of means threw the weight of their little influence into the opposite scale.

Though numbers broke through all the ties which bound them to support the cause of America, illustrious sacrifices were made at the shrine of liberty. Several of the richest men in the state suffered their fortunes to remain in the power and possession of their conquerors,

rather than stain their honour, by joining the enemies of their country. The patriotism of the ladies contributed much to this firmness. They crowded on board prison ships, and other places of confinement, to solace their suffering countrymen. While the conquerors were regaling themselves at concerts and assemblies, they could obtain very few of the fair sex to associate with them; but no sooner was an American officer introduced as a prisoner, than his company was sought for, and his person treated with every possible mark of attention and respect. On other occasions the ladies in a great measure retired from the public eye, wept over the distresses of their country, and gave every proof of the warmest attachment to its suffering cause. Among the numbers who were banished from their families, and whose property was seized by the conquerors, many examples could be produced of ladies cheerfully parting with their sons, husbands and brothers, exhorting them to fortitude and perseverance; and repeatedly entreating them never to suffer family attachments to interfere with the duty they owed to their country. When, in the progress of the war, they were also comprehended under a general sentence of banishment, with equal resolution they parted with their native country, and the many endearments of home—followed their husbands into prison ships and distant lands, where they were reduced to the necessity of receiving charity.

Animated by such examples, as well as by a high sense of honour and the love of their country, a great proportion of the gentlemen of South-Carolina deliberately adhered to their first resolution, of risking life and fortune in support of their liberties. Hitherto the royal forces in South-Carolina had been attended with almost uninterrupted success. Their standards overspread the

country, penetrated into every quarter, and triumphed over all opposition.

The British ministry by this flattering posture of affairs, were once more intoxicated with the hope of subjugating America. New plans were formed, and great expectations indulged, of speedily reuniting the dissevered members of the empire. It was now asserted with a confidence bordering on presumption, that such troops as fought at Camden, put under such a commander as lord Cornwallis, would soon extirpate rebellion, so effectually as to leave no vestige of it in America. The British ministry and army by an impious confidence in their own wisdom and prowess, were duly prepared to give, in their approaching downfall, an useful lesson to the world.

The disaster of the army under general Gates, overspread at first the face of American affairs, with a dismal gloom, but the day of prosperity to the United States, began, as will appear in the sequel, from that moment to dawn. Their prospects brightened up, while those of their enemies were obscured by disgrace, broken by defeat, and at last covered with ruin. Elated with their victories, the conquerors grew more insolent and rapacious, while the real friends of independence became resolute and determined.

We have seen Sumter penetrating into South-Carolina, and recommencing a military opposition to British government. Soon after that event, he was promoted by governor Rutledge, to the rank of brigadier general. About the same time Marion was promoted to the same rank, and in the northeastern extremities of the state, successfully prosecuted a similar plan. This valuable officer after the surrender of Charleston, retreated to North-Carolina. On the advance of general Gates, he



obtained a command of sixteen men. With these he penetrated through the country, and took a position near the Santee. On the defeat of general Gates, he was compelled to abandon the state, but returned after an absence of a few days. For several weeks he had under his command only 70 men. At one time, hardships and dangers reduced that number to 25, yet with this inconsiderable number he secured himself in the midst of surrounding foes. Various schemes were tried to detach the inhabitants from cooperating with him. Major Weyms burned scores of houses on Pedee, Lynch's creek and Black river, belonging to such as were supposed to do duty with Marion, or to be subservient to his views. This had an effect different from what was intended. Revenge and despair cooperated with patriotism, to make these ruined men keep the field. Having no houses to shelter them, the camps of their countrymen became their homes. For several months, Marion and his party were obliged to sleep in the open air, and to shelter themselves in the recesses of deep swamps. From these retreats they sallied out, whenever an opportunity of harassing the enemy, or of serving their country presented itself.

Opposition to British government was not wholly confined to the parties commanded by Sumter and Marion. It was at no time altogether extinct in the extremities of the state. The disposition to revolt, which had been excited on the approach of general Gates, was not extinguished by his defeat. The spirit of the people was overawed, but not subdued. The severity with which revolters who fell into the hands of the British were treated, induced those who escaped to persevere and seek safety in swamps.

From the time of the general submission of the in-

habitants in 1780, pains had been taken to increase the royal force by the cooperation of the yeomanry of the country. The British persuaded the people to form a royal militia, by representing that every prospect of succeeding in their scheme of independence was annihilated, and that a farther opposition would only be a prolongation of their distresses, if not their utter ruin. Major Ferguson of the 71st regiment, was particularly active in this business. He visited the settlements of the disaffected to the American cause, and collected a corps of militia of that description, from which much active service was expected. He advanced to the north-western settlements, to hold communication with the loyalists of both Carolinas. From his presence, together with assurances of an early movement of the royal army into North-Carolina, it was hoped that the friends of royal government would be roused to activity in the service of their king. In the mean time every preparation was made for urging offensive operations, as soon as the season and the state of the stores would permit.

That spirit of enterprize, which has already been mentioned as beginning to revive among the American militia about this time, prompted colonel Clarke to make an attempt on the British post at Augusta, in Georgia; but in this he failed and was obliged to retreat. Major Ferguson, with the hope of intercepting his party, kept near the mountains and at a considerable distance from support. These circumstances, together with the depredations of the loyalists, induced those hardy republicans, who reside on the west side of the Alleghany mountains, to form an enterprize for reducing that distinguished partizan. This was done of their own motion, without any direction from the governments

of America, or from the officers of the continental army.

There was, without any apparent design, a powerful combination of several detached commanders of several adjacent states, with their respective commands of militia. Colonel Campbell of Virginia, colonels Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier, and M'Dowel of North-Carolina, together with colonels Lacey, Hawthorn and Hill, of South-Carolina, all rendezvoused together, with a number of men amounting to 1600, though they were under no general command, and though they were not called upon to embody by any common authority, or indeed by any authority at all, but that of a general impulse on their own minds. They had so little of the mechanism of a regular army, that the colonels of some of the states by common consent, commanded each day alternately. The hardships these volunteers underwent were very great. Some of them subsisted for weeks together, without tasting bread or salt, or spiritous liquors, and slept in the woods without blankets. The running stream quenched their thirst. At night the earth afforded them a bed, and the heavens, or at most the limbs of trees were their only covering. Ears of corn or pumpions thrown into the fire, with occasional supplies of beef or venison, killed and roasted in the woods, were the chief articles of their provisions. They had neither commissaries, quarter-masters, nor stores of any kind. They selected about a thousand of their best men, and mounted them on their fleetest horses. These

Oct. 7. attacked major Ferguson on the top of King's mountain, near the confines of North and South-Carolina. The Americans formed three parties. Colonel Lacey of South-Carolina, led one, which attached on the west end. The two others were commanded by colonels

Campbell and Cleveland, one of which attacked on the east end, and the other in the centre. Ferguson with great boldness attacked the assailants with fixed bayonets, and compelled them successively to retire, but they only fell back a little way, and getting behind trees and rocks, renewed their fire in almost every direction. The British being uncovered, were aimed at by the American marksmen, and many of them were slain. An unusual number of the killed were found to have been shot in the head. Riflemen took off riflemen with such exactness, that they killed each other when taking sight, so effectually that their eyes remained after they were dead, one shut and the other open, in the usual manner of marksmen when levelling at their object. Major Ferguson displayed as much bravery as was possible in his situation; but his encampment on the top of the mountain was not well chosen, as it gave the Americans an opportunity of covering themselves in their approaches. Had he pursued his march on charging and driving the first party of the militia which gave way, he might have got off with the most of his men, but his unconquerable spirit disdained either to flee or to surrender. After a severe conflict he received a mortal wound. No chance of escape being left, and all prospect of successful resistance being at an end, the contest was ended by the submission of the survivors. Upwards of 800 became prisoners, and 225 had been previously killed or wounded. Very few of the assailants fell, but in their number was colonel Williams, a distinguished militia officer in Ninety-Six district, who had been very active in opposing the reestablishment of British government. Ten of the royal militia were hanged by their conquerors. They were provoked to this measure by the severity of the British,

who had lately hanged several of the captured Americans, in South-Carolina and Georgia. They also alleged that the men who suffered were guilty of previous felonies, for which their lives were forfeited by the laws of the land. The fall of Ferguson was in itself a great loss to the royal cause. He possessed superior abilities as a partizan, and his spirit of enterprize was uncommon. To a distinguished capacity for planning great designs, he also added the practical abilities necessary to carry them into execution. The unexpected advantage which the Americans gained over him and his party, in a great degree frustrated a well concerted scheme for strengthening the British army by the cooperation of the tory inhabitants, whom he had undertaken to discipline and prepare for active service. The total rout of the party, which had joined major Ferguson, operated as a check on the future exertions of the loyalists. The same timid caution, which made them averse to joining their countrymen in opposing the claims of Great-Britain, restrained them from risking any more in support of the royal cause. Henceforward they waited to see how the scales were likely to incline, and reserved themselves till the British army, by its own unassisted efforts, should gain a decided superiority.

In a few weeks after the general action near Camden, lord Cornwallis left a small force in that village, and marched with the main army towards Salisbury, intending to push forwards in that direction. While on his way thither, the North-Carolina militia was very industrious and successful in annoying his detachments. Riflemen frequently penetrated near his camp, and from behind trees made sure of their objects. The late conquerors found their situation very uneasy, being exposed to unseen dangers if they attempted to make an excur-

sion of only a few hundred yards from their main body. The defeat of major Ferguson, added to these circumstances, gave a serious alarm to lord Cornwallis, and he soon after retreated to Winnsborough. As he retired, the militia took several of his waggons, and single men often rode up within gunshot of his army, discharged their pieces, and made their escape. The panic occasioned by the defeat of general Gates, had in a great measure worn off. The defeat of major Ferguson and the consequent retreat of lord Cornwallis, encouraged the American militia to take the field, and the necessity of the times induced them to submit to stricter discipline. Sumter soon after the dispersion of his corps on the 18th of August, collected a band of volunteers, partly from new adventurers and partly from those who had escaped on that day. With these, though for three months there was no continental army in the state, he constantly kept the field in support of American independence. He varied his position from time to time about Evoree, Broad and Tyger rivers, and had frequent skirmishes with his adversaries. Having mounted his followers, he infested the British parties with frequent incursions—beat up their quarters—intercepted their convoys, and so harassed them with successive alarms, that their movements could not be made but with caution and difficulty. His spirit of enterprize was so particularly injurious to the British, that they laid sundry plans for destroying his force, but they all failed in the execution. He was attacked at Broad river by major Wemys, commanding a corps of infantry and dragoons. In this action the British were defeated and their commanding officer taken prisoner. Eight days after he was attacked at Black-Stocks, near Tyger river, by lieutenant colonel

Nov. 12.

Nov. 20.

Tarleton. The attack was begun with 170 dragoons and 80 men of the 63d regiment. A considerable part of Sumter's force had been thrown into a large log barn, from the apertures of which they fired with security. Many of the 63d regiment were killed. Tarleton charged with his cavalry, but, being unable to dislodge the Americans, retreated, and Sumter was left in quiet possession of the field. The loss of the British in this action was considerable. Among their killed were three officers, major Money, lieutenants Gibson and Cope. The Americans lost very few, but general Sumter received a wound, which for several months interrupted his gallant enterprizes in behalf of his country. His zeal and activity in animating the militia, when they were discouraged by repeated defeats, and the bravery and good conduct he displayed in sundry attacks on the British detachments, procured him the applause of his countrymen, and the thanks of congress.

For the three months which followed the defeat of the American army near Camden, general Gates was industriously preparing to take the field. Having collected a force at Hillsborough he advanced to Salisbury, and very soon after to Charlotte. He had done every thing in his power to repair the injuries of his defeat, and was again in a condition to face the enemy; but from that influence which popular opinion has over public affairs in a commonwealth, congress resolved to supercede him, and to order a court of inquiry to be held on his conduct. This was founded on a former resolve, that whoever lost a post should be subject to a court of inquiry. The cases were no ways parallel, he had lost a battle but not a post. The only charge that could be exhibited against general Gates was that he had been defeated. His enemies could accuse him of no

military crime, unless that to be unsuccessful might be reckoned so. The public, sore with their losses, were desirous of a change, and congress found it necessary to gratify them, though at the expense of the feelings of one of their best, and till August 1780, one of their most successful officers. Virginia did not so soon forget Saratoga. When general Gates was at Richmond on his way home from Carolina, the house of Bur-  
Dec. 28.  
gesses of that state unanimously resolved "that a committee of four be appointed to wait on general Gates, and assure him of their high regard and esteem, and that the remembrance of his former glorious services could not be obliterated by any reverse of fortune; but that ever mindful of his great merit, they would omit no opportunity of testifying to the world the gratitude which the country owed to him in his military character."

These events, together with a few unimportant skirmishes not worthy of being particularly mentioned, closed the campaign of 1780 in the southern states. They afforded ample evidence of the folly of prosecuting the American war. Though British conquests had rapidly succeeded each other, yet no advantages accrued to the victors. The minds of the people were unsubdued, or rather more alienated from every idea of returning to their former allegiance. Such was their temper, that the expense of retaining them in subjection, would have exceeded all the profits of the conquest. British garrisons kept down open resistance in the vicinity of the places where they were established, but as soon as they were withdrawn, and the people left to themselves, a spirit of revolt hostile to Great-Britain always displayed itself, and the standard of independence whensoever it was prudently raised, never wanted followers from the active and spirited part of the community.



## CHAPTER XX.

*Campaign of 1780, in the Northern States.*

**W**HILE the war raged in South-Carolina, the campaign of 1780, in the northern states, was barren of important events. At the close of the preceding campaign, the American northern army took post at Morristown and built themselves huts, agreeably to the practice which had been first introduced at Valley-Forge. This position was well calculated to cover the country from the excursions of the British, being only 20 miles from New-York.

Lord Stirling made an effectual attempt to surprize a party of the enemy on Staten-Island. While he  
 January, 1780. was on the island, a number of persons from the Jersey side passed over and plundered the inhabitants, who had submitted to the British government. In these times of confusion, licentious persons fixed themselves near the lines, which divided the British from the Americans. Whensoever an opportunity offered, they were in the habit of going within the settlements of the opposite party, and under the pretence of distressing their enemies, committed the most shameful depredations. In the first months of the year 1780, while the royal army was weakened by the expedition against Charleston, the British were apprehensive for their safety in New-York. The rare circumstance which then existed, of a connexion between the main and York Island, by means of ice, seemed to invite to the enterprize, but the force and equipments of the American army were unequal to it. Lieutenant general Kniphausen, who then commanded in New-York, apprehending such a design, embodied the inhabitants of the city as a militia for its defence.

They very cheerfully formed themselves into companies, and discovered great zeal in the service.

An incursion was made into Jersey from New-York with 5000 men, commanded by lieutenant June. 16. general Kniphausen. They landed at Elizabeth-Town, and proceeded to Connecticut farms. In this neighbourhood lived the Rev. Mr. James Caldwell, a presbyterian clergyman of great activity, ability and influence, whose successful exertions in animating the Jersey militia to defend their rights, had rendered him particularly obnoxious to the British. When the royal forces were on their way into the country, a soldier came to his house in his absence, and shot his wife Mrs. Caldwell instantly dead, by levelling his piece directly at her through the window of the room, in which she was sitting with her children. Her body at the request of an officer of the new levies, was moved to some distance, and then the house and every thing in it was reduced to ashes. The British burnt about 12 other houses, and also the presbyterian church, and then proceeded to Springfield. As they advanced they were annoyed by colonel Dayton, with a few militia. On their approach to the bridge near the town, they were farther opposed by general Maxwell, who with a few continental troops was prepared to dispute its passage. They made a halt, and soon after returned to Elizabeth-Town. Before they had retreated, the whole American army at Morristown marched to oppose them. While this royal detachment was in Jersey, sir Henry Clinton returned with his victorious troops from Charleston to New-York. He ordered a reinforcement to Kniphausen, and the whole advanced a second time towards Springfield. They were now opposed by general Greene, with a considerable body of continental troops. Colonel Angel with his regiment and a piece of

artillery was posted to secure the bridge in front of the town. A severe action took place which lasted forty minutes. Superior numbers forced the Americans to retire. General Greene took post with his troops on a range of hills, in hopes of being attacked. Instead of this, the British began to burn the town. Near fifty dwelling-houses were reduced to ashes. The British then retreated, but were pursued by the enraged militia, till they entered Elizabeth-Town. The next day they set out on their return to New-York. The loss of the Americans in the action was about 80, and that of the British was supposed to be considerably more. It is difficult to tell what was the precise object of this expedition. Perhaps the royal commanders hoped to get possession of Morristown, and to destroy the American stores. Perhaps they flattered themselves that the inhabitants were so dispirited by the recent loss of Charleston, that they would submit without resistance; and that the soldiers of the continental army would desert to them: but if these were their views, they were disappointed in both. The firm opposition which was made by the Jersey farmers, contrasted with the conduct of the same people in the year 1776, made it evident that not only their aversion to Great-Britain continued in full force, but that the practical habits of service and danger had improved the country militia, so as to bring them near to an equality with regular troops.

By such desultory operations, were hostilities carried on at this time in the northern states. Individuals were killed, houses were burnt, and much mischief done; but nothing was effected which tended either to reconciliation or subjugation.

The loyal Americans who had fled within the British lines, commonly called refugees, reduced a predatory

war into system. On their petition to sir Henry Clinton, they had been, in the year 1779, permitted to set up a distinct government in New-York, under a jurisdiction called the honourable board of associated loyalists.— They had something like a fleet of small privateers and cruizers, by the aid of which, they committed various depredations. A party of them who had formerly belonged to Massachusetts, went to Nantucket, broke open the warehouses, and carried off every thing that fell in their way. They also carried off two loaded brigs and two or three schooners. In a proclamation they left behind them, they observed, “that they had been deprived of their property, and compelled to abandon their dwellings, friends and connexions; and that they conceived themselves warranted by the laws of God and man, to wage war against their persecutors, and to endeavour by every means in their power, to obtain compensation for their sufferings.” These associated loyalists eagerly embraced every adventure, which gratified either their avarice or their revenge. Their enterprizes were highly lucrative to themselves, and extremely distressing to the Americans. Their knowledge of the country and superior means of transportation, enabled them to make hasty descents and successful enterprizes. A war of plunder in which the feelings of humanity were often suspended, and which tended to no valuable public purpose, was carried on in this shameful manner, from the double excitements of profit and revenge. The adjoining coasts of the continent, and especially the maritime parts of New-Jersey, became scenes of waste and havoc.

The distress which the Americans suffered from the diminished value of their currency, though felt in the year 1778, and still more so in the year 1779, did not

arrive to its highest pitch till the year 1780. Under the pressure of sufferings from this cause, the officers of the Jersey line addressed a memorial to their state legislature, setting forth, "that four months pay of a private, would not procure for his family, a single bushel of wheat, that the pay of a colonel would not purchase oats for his horse, that a common labourer or express-rider, received four times as much as an American officer." They urged "that unless a speedy and ample remedy was provided, the total dissolution of their line was inevitable," and concluded with saying, "that their pay should either be made up in Mexican dollars, or in something equivalent." In addition to the insufficiency of their pay and support, other causes of discontent prevailed. The original idea of a continental army, to be raised, paid, subsisted and regulated upon an equal and uniform principle, had been in a great measure exchanged for state establishments. This mischievous measure partly originated from necessity, for state credit was not quite so much depreciated as continental. Congress not possessing the means of supporting their army, devolved the business on the component parts of the confederacy. Some states, from their internal ability and local advantages, furnished their troops not only with clothing, but with many conveniences. Others supplied them with some necessaries, but on a more contracted scale. A few, from their particular situation, could do little, or nothing at all. The officers and men in the routine of duty, mixed daily and compared circumstances. Those who fared worse than others, were dissatisfied with a service which made such injurious distinctions. From causes of this kind, superadded to a complication of wants and sufferings, a disposition to mutiny, began to show itself in the American army. This broke forth into full action among the sol-

diers which were stationed at Fort Schuyler. Thirty-one of the men of that garrison, went off in a body. Being pursued, sixteen of them were overtaken, and thirteen of the sixteen were instantly killed. About the same time, two regiments of Connecticut troops mutinied and got under arms. They determined to return home, or to gain subsistence at the point of the bayonet. Their officers reasoned with them, and urged every argument, that could either interest their pride or their passions. They were reminded of their good conduct, of the important objects for which they were contending, but their answer was, "our sufferings are too great, and we want present relief." After much expostulation, they were at length prevailed upon to go to their huts. It is remarkable, that this mutinous disposition of the Connecticut troops, was in a great measure quelled by the Pennsylvania line, which in a few months, as shall hereafter be related, planned and executed a more serious revolt, than that which they now suppressed. While the army was in this feverish state of discontent, from their accumulated distresses, a printed paper, addressed to the soldiers of the continental army, was circulated in the American camp. This was in the following words: "The time is at length arrived, when all the artifices and falsehoods of the congress and of your commanders, can no longer conceal from you, the miseries of your situation. You are neither fed, clothed, nor paid. Your numbers are wasting away by sickness, famine, and nakedness, and rapidly so by the period of your stipulated services being expired. This is now the period to fly from slavery and fraud."

"I am happy in acquainting the old countrymen that the affairs of Ireland are fully settled, and that Great-Britain and Ireland are united as well from interest as from affection. I need not tell you, who are born in

America, that you have been cheated and abused. You are both sensible, that in order to procure your liberty, you must quit your leaders, and join your real friends, who scorn to impose upon you, and who will receive you with open arms, kindly forgiving all your errors. You are told that you are surrounded by a numerous militia. This is also false. Associate then together, make use of your firelocks, and join the British army, where you will be permitted to dispose of yourselves as you please."

About the same time, or rather a little before, the news arrived of the reduction of Charleston, and the capture of the whole American southern army. Such was the firmness of the common soldiery, and so strong their attachment to the cause of their country, that though danger impelled, want urged, and British favour invited them to a change of sides, yet on the arrival of but a scanty supply of meat for their immediate subsistence, military duty was cheerfully performed, and no uncommon desertion took place.

So great were the necessities of the American army, that general Washington was obliged to call on the magistrates of the adjacent counties for specified quantities of provisions to be supplied in a given number of days. At other times he was compelled to send out detachments of troops, to take provisions at the point of the bayonet from the citizens. This expedient at length failed, for the country in the vicinity of the army afforded no further supplies. These impressments were not only injurious to the morals and discipline of the army, but tended to alienate the affections of the people. Much of the support, which the American general had previously experienced from the inhabitants, proceeded from the difference of treatment they received from their

own army, compared with what they suffered from the British. The general, whom the inhabitants hitherto regarded as their protector, had now no other alternative but to disband his troops, or to support them by force. The situation of general Washington was eminently embarrassing. The army looked to him for provisions, the inhabitants for protection of their property. To supply the one, and not offend the other, seemed little less than an impossibility. To preserve order and subordination in an army of free republicans, even when well fed, paid and clothed, would have been a work of difficulty; but to retain them in service and restrain them with discipline, when destitute, not only of the comforts, but often the necessities of life, required address and abilities of such magnitude as are rarely found in human nature. In this choice of difficulties, general Washington not only kept his army together, but conducted with so much discretion, as to command the approbation both of the army and of the citizens.

So great a scarcity, in a country usually abounding with provisions, appears extraordinary, but various remote causes had concurred about this time to produce an unprecedented deficiency. The seasons both in 1779 and 1780 were unfavourable to the crops. The labours of the husbandmen, who were attached to the cause of independence, had been frequently interrupted by the calls for militia duty. Those who cared for neither side, or who from principles of religion held the unlawfulness of war, or who were secretly attached to the royal interest, had been very deficient in industry. Such sometimes reasoned that all labour on their farms, beyond a bare supply of their own necessities, was unavailing; but the principal cause of the sufferings of the army, was the daily diminishing value of the continental bills



of credit. The farmers found, that the longer they delayed the payment of their taxes, the less quantity of country produce would discharge the stipulated sum. They also observed, that the longer they kept their grain on hand, the more of the paper currency was obtained in exchange for it. This either discouraged them from selling, or made them very tardy in coming to market. Many secreted their provisions and denied their having any, while others who were contiguous to the British, secretly sold to them for gold or silver. The patriotism which at the commencement of the war had led so many to sacrifice property for the good of their country, had in a great degree subsided. Though they still retained their good wishes for the cause, yet these did not carry them so far as to induce a willingness to exchange the hard earned produce of their farms, for a paper currency of a daily diminishing value. For provisions carried to New-York, the farmers received real money, but for what was carried to the Americans, they received only paper. The value of the first was known, of the other daily varying, but in an unceasing progression from bad to worse. Laws were made against this intercourse, but they were executed in the manner laws uniformly have been in the evasion of which multitudes find an immediate interest.

In addition to these disasters from short crops, and depreciating money, disorder and confusion pervaded the departments for supplying the army. Systems for these purposes had been hastily adopted, and were very inadequate to the end proposed. To provide for an army under the best establishments, and with a full military chest, is a work of difficulty, and though guarded by the precautions which time and experience have suggested, opens a door to many frauds; but it was the

hard case of the Americans to be called on to discharge this duty without sufficient knowledge of the business, and under ill digested systems, and with a paper currency that was not two days of the same value. Abuses crept in; frauds were practised, and economy was exiled.

To obviate these evils, congress adopted the expedient of sending a committee of their own body to the camp of their main army. Mr. Schuyler of New-York, Mr. Peabody of New-Hampshire, and Mr. Mathews of South-Carolina, were appointed. They were furnished with ample powers and instructions to reform abuses—to alter preceding systems, and to establish new ones in their room. This committee proceeded to camp in May, 1780, and thence wrote sundry letters to congress, and the states, in which they confirmed the representations previously made of the distresses and disorders every where prevalent. In particular they stated, “that the army was unpaid for five months—that it seldom had more than six days provision in advance, and was on several occasions for sundry successive days without meat—that the army was destitute of forage—that the medical department had neither sugar, coffee, tea, chocolate, wine nor spiritous liquors of any kind—that every department of the army was without money, and had not even the shadow of credit left—that the patience of the soldiers, borne down by the pressure of complicated sufferings, was on the point of being exhausted.”

A tide of misfortunes from all quarters was at this time pouring in upon the United States. There appeared not, however, in their public bodies, the smallest disposition to purchase safety by concessions of any sort. They seemed to rise in the midst of their distress-

es, and to gain strength from the pressure of calamities. When congress could neither command money nor credit for the subsistence of their army, the citizens of Philadelphia formed an association to procure a supply of necessary articles for their suffering soldiers. The sum of 300,000 dollars was subscribed in a few days, and converted into a bank, the principal design of which was to purchase provisions for the troops, in the most prompt and efficacious manner. The advantages of this institution were great, and particularly enhanced by the critical time in which it was instituted. The loss of Charleston, and the subsequent British victories in Carolina, produced effects directly the reverse of what were expected. It being the deliberate resolution of the Americans never to return to the government of Great-Britain, such unfavourable events as threatened the subversion of independence, operated as incentives to their exertions. The patriotic flame which had blazed forth in the beginning of the war was rekindled. A willingness to do, and to suffer, in the cause of American liberty, was revived in the breasts of many. These dispositions were invigorated by private assurances, that his most christian majesty would, in the course of the campaign, send a powerful armament to their aid. To excite the states to be in readiness for this event, congress circulated among them an address of which the following is a part. "The crisis calls for exertion. Much is to be done in a little time, and every motive that can stimulate the mind of man presents itself to view. No period has occurred in this long and glorious struggle, in which indecision would be so destructive on the one hand, and on the other, no conjuncture has been more favourable to great and deciding efforts."

The powers of the committee of congress in the American camp, were enlarged so far as to authorize them to frame and execute such plans as, in their opinion, would most effectually draw forth the resources of the country, in cooperating with the armament expected from France. In this character they wrote sundry letters to the states, stimulating them with vigorous exertions. It was agreed to make arrangements for bringing into the field 35,000 effective men, and to call on the states for specific supplies of every thing necessary for their support. To obtain the men, it was proposed to complete the regular regiments by drafts from the militia, and to make up what they fell short of 35,000 effectives, by calling forth more of the militia. Every motive concurred to rouse the activity of the inhabitants. The states nearly exhausted with the war, ardently wished for its termination. An opportunity now offered for striking a decisive blow, that might at once, as they supposed, rid the country of its distresses. The only thing required on the part of the United States, was to bring into the field 35,000 men, and to make effectual arrangements for their support. The tardiness of deliberation in congress was in a great measure done away, but the full powers given to their committee in camp. Accurate estimates were made of every article of supply, necessary for the ensuing campaign. These, and also the numbers of men wanted, were quotaed on the ten northern states in proportion to their abilities and numbers. In conformity to these requisitions, vigorous resolutions were adopted for carrying them into effect. Where voluntary enlistments fell short of the proposed number, the deficiencies were, by the laws of several states, to be made up by drafts or lots from the militia. The towns in New-England and the counties in the middle states, were respectively call-

ed on for a specified number of men. Such was the zeal of the people in New-England, that neighbours would often club together, to engage one of their number to go into the army. Being without money, in conformity to the practice usual in the early stages of society, they paid for military duty with cattle. Twenty head were frequently given as a reward for eighteen months service. Maryland directed her lieutenants of counties, to class all the property in their respective counties, into as many equal classes as there were men wanted, and each class was by law obliged within ten days thereafter, to furnish an able bodied recruit to serve during the war, and in case of their neglecting or refusing so to do, the county lieutenants were authorized to procure men at their expense, at any rate not exceeding fifteen pounds in every hundred pounds worth of property, classed agreeably to the law. Virginia also classed her citizens, and called upon the respective classes for every fifteenth man for public service. Pennsylvania concentrated the requisite power in her president, Joseph Reed, and authorized him to draw forth the resources of the state, under certain limitations, and if necessary to declare martial law over the state. The legislative part of these complicated arrangements was speedily passed, but the execution though uncommonly vigorous lagged far behind. Few occasions could occur in which it might so fairly be tried, to what extent in conducting a war, a variety of wills might be brought to act in unison. The result of the experiment was, that however favourable republics may be to the liberty and happiness of the people in the time of peace, they will be greatly deficient in that vigour and despatch, which military operations require, unless they imitate the policy of monarchies by committing the executive departments of government to the direction of a single will.

While these preparations were making in America, the armament which had been promised by his most christian majesty was on its way. As soon as it was known in France, that a resolution was adopted, to send out troops to the United States, the young French nobility discovered the greatest zeal to be employed on that service. Court favour was scarcely ever solicited with more earnestness, than was the honour of serving under general Washington. The number of applicants was much greater than the service required. The disposition to support the American revolution, was not only prevalent in the court of France; but it animated the whole body of the nation. The winds and waves did not second the ardent wishes of the French troops. Though they sailed from France on the first of May 1780, they did not reach a port in the United States till the 10th of July following. On that day to the great joy of the Americans, M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode-Island, with a squadron of seven sail of the line, five frigates, and five smaller armed vessels. He likewise convoyed a fleet of transports with four old French regiments, besides the legion de Lauzun, and a battalion of artillery, amounting in the whole to 6000 men, all under the command of lieutenant general count de Rochambeau. To the French as soon as they landed possession was given of the forts and batteries on the island, and by their exertions they were soon put in a high state of defence. In a few days after their arrival, an address of congratulation from the general assembly of the state of Rhode-Island, was presented to count de Rochambeau, in which they expressed "their most grateful sense of the magnanimous aid afforded to the United States, by their illustrious friend and ally the monarch of France, and also gave assurances of every exertion

in their power for the supply of the French forces, with all manner of refreshments and necessaries for rendering the service happy and agreeable." Rochambeau declared in his answer, "that he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force which was destined for their aid; that he was ordered by the king his master to assure them, that his whole power should be exerted for their support." "The French troops" he said "were under the strictest discipline, and acting under the orders of general Washington, would live with the Americans as brethren. He returned their compliments by an assurance, that as brethren, not only his own life, but the lives of all those under his command were devoted to their service."

General Washington recommended in public orders to the American officers, as a symbol of friendship and affection for their allies, to wear black and white cockades, the ground to be of the first colour, and the relief of the second.

The French troops, united both in interest and affection with the Americans, ardently longed for an opportunity to cooperate with them against the common enemy. The continental army wished for the same with equal ardour. One circumstance alone seemed unfavourable to this spirit of enterprize. This was the deficient cloathing of the Americans. Some whole lines, officers as well as men, were shabby, and a great proportion of the privates were without shirts. Such troops, brought along side even of allies fully clad in the elegance of uniformity, must have been more or less than men to feel no degradation on the contrast.

Admiral Arbuthnot had only four sail of the line at New-York, when M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode-Island. This inferiority was in three days reversed, by the

arrival of admiral Greaves with six sail of the line. The British admiral, having now a superiority, proceeded to Rhode-Island. He soon discovered that the French were perfectly secure from any attack by sea. Sir Henry Clinton, who had returned in the preceding month with his victorious troops from Charleston, embarked about 8000 of his best men, and proceeded as far as Huntingdon-bay on Long-Island, with the apparent design of concurring with the British fleet, in attacking the French force at Rhode-Island. When this movement took place, general Washington set his army in motion, and proceeded to Peekskill. Had sir Henry Clinton prosecuted what appeared to be his design, general Washington intended to have attacked New-York in his absence. Preparations were made for this purpose, but sir Henry Clinton instantly turned about from Huntingdon-bay towards New-York.

In the mean time, the French fleet and army being blocked up at Rhode-Island, were incapacitated from cooperating with the Americans. Hopes were nevertheless indulged, that by the arrival of another fleet of his most christian majesty, then in the West-Indies, under the command of count de Guichen, the superiority would be so much in favour of the allies, as to enable them to prosecute their original intention of attacking New-York. When the expectations of the Americans were raised to the highest pitch, and when they were in great forwardness of preparation to act in concert with their allies, intelligence arrived that count de Guichen had sailed for France. This disappointment was extremely mortifying. The Americans had made uncommon exertions, on the idea of receiving such aid from their allies, as would enable them to lay effectual siege to New-York, or to strike some decisive



blow. Their towering expectations were in a moment levelled with the dust. Another campaign was anticipated, and new shades were added to the deep cloud, which for some time past had overshadowed American affairs.

The campaign of 1780, passed away in the northern states, as has been related, in successive disappointments, and reiterated distresses. The country was exhausted, the continental currency expiring. The army, for want of subsistence, kept inactive, and brooding over its calamities. While these distresses were openly menacing the ruin of the American cause, treachery was silently undermining it. A distinguished officer engaged for a stipulated sum of money, to betray into the hands of the British an important post committed to his care. General Arnold, who committed this foul crime, was a native of Connecticut. That state, remarkable for the purity of its morals, for its republican principles and patriotism, was the birth place of a man to whom none of the other states have produced an equal. He had been among the first to take up arms against Great-Britain, and to widen the breach between the parent state and the colonies. His distinguished military talents had procured him every honour a grateful country could bestow. Poets and painters had marked him as a suitable subject for the display of their respective abilities. He possessed an elevated seat in the hearts of his countrymen, and was in the full enjoyment of a substantial fame, for the purchase of which the wealth of worlds would have been insufficient. His country had not only loaded him with honours, but forgiven him his crimes. Though in his accounts against the states there was much room to suspect fraud and imposition, yet the recollection of his gallantry and good conduct, in a

great measure served as a cloak to cover the whole. He who had been prodigal of life in his country's cause, was indulged with extraordinary demands for his services. The generosity of the states did not keep pace with the extravagance of their favourite officer. A sumptuous table and expensive equipage, unsupported by the resources of private fortune, ungarded by the virtues of economy and good management, soon increased his debts beyond a possibility of his discharging them. His love of pleasure produced the love of money, and that extinguished all sensibility to the obligations of honour and duty. The calls of luxury were various and pressing, and demanded gratification, though at the expense of fame and country. Contracts were made, speculations entered into, and partnerships instituted, which could not bear investigation. Oppression, extortion, misapplication of public money and property, furnished him with the farther means of gratifying his favourite passions. In these circumstances, a change of sides afforded the only hope of evading a scrutiny, and at the same time, held out a prospect of replenishing his exhausted coffers. The disposition of the American forces in the year 1780, afforded an opportunity of accomplishing this so much to the advantage of the British, that they could well afford a liberal reward for the beneficial treachery. The American army was stationed in the strong holds of the highlands on both sides of the North-River. In this arrangement, Arnold solicited for the command of West-Point. This has been called the Gibraltar of America. It was built after the loss of Fort Montgomery, for the defence of the North-River, and was deemed the most proper for commanding its navigation. Rocky ridges rising one behind another, rendered it incapable of being invested, by less than

twenty thousand men. Though some even then entertained doubts of Arnold's fidelity, yet general Washington, in the unsuspecting spirit of a soldier, believing it to be impossible, that honour should be wanting in a breast which he knew was the seat of valour, cheerfully granted his request, and intrusted him with the important post. General Arnold, thus invested with command, carried on a negotiation with sir Henry Clinton, by which it was agreed that the former should make a disposition of his forces, which would enable the latter to surprize West-Point, under such circumstances, that he would have the garrison so completely in his power, that the troops must either lay down their arms, or be cut to pieces. The object of this negotiation was the strongest post of the Americans, the thoroughfare of communication between the eastern and southern states, and was the repository of their most valuable stores. The loss of it would have been severely felt.

The agent employed in this negotiation on the part of sir Henry Clinton, was major Andre, adjutant general of the British army, a young officer of great hopes, and of uncommon merit. Nature had bestowed on him an elegant taste for literature and the fine arts, which by industrious cultivation he had greatly improved. He possessed many amiable qualities, and very great accomplishments. His fidelity, together with his place and character, eminently fitted him for this business; but his high ideas of candour, and his abhorrence of duplicity, made him inexpert in practising those arts of deception which it required. To favour the necessary communications, the Vulture sloop of war had been previously stationed in the North-River, as near to Arnold's posts as was practicable, without exciting suspicion. Before this, a written correspondence between Arnold and An-

dre, had for some time been carried on, under the fictitious names of Gustavus and Anderson. A boat was sent at night from the shore to fetch major Sept. 21. Andre. On his return, Arnold met him at the beach, without the posts of either army. Their business was not finished till it was too near the dawn of day for Andre to return to the Vulture. Arnold told him he must be concealed till the next night. For that purpose, he was conducted within one of the American posts, against his previous stipulation and knowledge, and continued with Arnold the following day. The boatmen refused to carry him back the next night, as the Vulture, from being exposed to the fire of some cannon, brought up to annoy her, had changed her position. Andre's return to New-York by land, was then the only practicable mode of escape. To favour this, he quitted his uniform which he had hitherto worn under a surtout, for a common coat, and was furnished with a horse, and under the name of John Anderson, with a passport "to go to the lines of White-Plains, or lower if he thought proper, he being on public business." He advanced alone and undisturbed a great part of the way. When he thought himself almost out of danger, he was stopt by three of the New-York militia, who were with others scouting between the out posts of the two armies. Major Andre, instead of producing his pass, asked the man who stopt him, "where he belonged to," who answered "to below," meaning New-York. He replied "so do I," and declared himself a British officer, and pressed that he might not be detained. He soon discovered his mistake. His captors proceeded to search him: sundry papers were found in his possession. These were secreted in his boots, and were in Arnold's hand writing. They contained exact returns of the state

of the forces, ordnance and defences at West-Point, with the artillery orders, critical remarks on the works, &c.

Andre offered his captors a purse of gold and a new valuable watch, if they would let him pass, and permanent provision and future promotion, if they would convey and accompany him to New-York. They nobly disdained the proffered bribe, and delivered him a prisoner to lieutenant colonel Jameson, who commanded the scouting parties. In testimony of the high sense entertained of the virtuous and patriotic conduct of John Paulding, David Willians, and Isaac Van Vert, the captors of Andre, congress resolved, "That each of them receive annually two hundred dollars in specie during life, and that the board of war be directed to procure for each of them a silver medal, on one side of which should be a shield with this inscription, *Fidelity*; and on the other, the following motto, *Vincit Amor Patriæ*: and that the commander in chief be requested to present the same, with the thanks of congress, for their fidelity and the eminent service they had rendered their country." Andre when delivered to Jameson, continued to call himself by the name of Anderson, and asked leave to send a letter to Arnold, to acquaint him with Anderson's detention. This was inconsiderately granted. Arnold on the receipt of this letter abandoned every thing, and went on board the Vulture sloop of war. Lieutenant colonel Jameson forwarded to general Washington all the papers found on Andre, together with a letter giving an account of the whole affair; but the express, by taking a different route from the general, who was returning from a conference at Hartford with count de Rochambeau, missed him. This caused such a delay as gave Arnold time to escape. The same packet which

detailed the particulars of Andre's capture, brought a letter from him, in which he avowed his name and character, and endeavoured to shew that he did not come under the description of a spy. The letter was expressed in terms of dignity without insolence, and of apology without meanness. He stated therein, that he held a correspondence with a person under the orders of his general. That his intention went no farther than meeting that person on neutral ground, for the purpose of intelligence, and that, against his stipulation, his intention, and without his knowledge beforehand, he was brought within the American posts, and had to concert his escape from them. Being taken on his return, he was betrayed into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise. His principal request was, that "whatever his fate might be, a decency of treatment might be observed, which would mark, that though unfortunate he was branded with nothing that was dishonourable, and that he was involuntarily an imposter."

General Washington referred the whole case of major Andre to the examination and decision of a board, consisting of fourteen general officers. On his examination, he voluntarily confessed every thing that related to himself, and particularly that he did not come ashore under the protection of a flag. The board did not examine a single witness, but founded their report on his own confession. In this they stated the following facts: "That major Andre came on shore on the night of the 21st of September in a private and secret manner, and that he changed his dress within the American lines, and under a feigned name and disguised habit passed their works, and was taken in a disguised habit when on his way to New-York, and when taken, several papers were found in his possession, which contained intelligence for the

enemy." From these facts they farther reported it as their opinion, "That major Andre ought to be considered as a spy, and that agreeably to the laws and usages of nations he ought to suffer death."

Sir Henry Clinton, lieutenant general Robertson, and the late American general Arnold, wrote pressing letters to general Washington, to prevent the decision of the board of general officers from being carried into effect. General Arnold in particular urged, that every thing done by major Andre was done by his particular request, and at a time when he was the acknowledged commanding officer in the department. He contended "that he had a right to transact all these matters, for which, though wrong, major Andre ought not to suffer." An interview also took place between general Robertson, on the part of the British, and general Greene, on the part of the Americans. Every thing was urged by the former, that ingenuity or humanity could suggest for averting the proposed execution. Greene made a proposition for delivering up Andre for Arnold; but this could not be acceded to by the British, without offending against every principle of policy. Robertson urged "that Andre went on shore under the sanction of a flag, and that being then in Arnold's power, he was not accountable for his subsequent actions, which were said to be compulsory." To this it was replied that "he was employed in the execution of measures very foreign from the objects of flags of truce, and such as they were never meant to authorize or countenance, and that major Andre in the course of his examination had candidly confessed, that it was impossible for him to suppose, that he came on shore under the sanction of a flag." As Greene and Robertson differed so widely both in their statement of facts, and the inferences they drew from them, the latter proposed to the

former, that the opinions of disinterested gentlemen might be taken on the subject, and proposed Kniphausen and Rochambeau. Robertson also urged that Andre possessed a great share of sir Henry Clinton's esteem; and that he would be infinitely obliged if he should be spared. He offered that in case Andre was permitted to return with him to New-York, any person whatever, that might be named, should be set at liberty. All these arguments and entreaties having failed, Robertson presented a long letter from Arnold, in which he endeavoured to exculpate Andre, by acknowledging himself the author of every part of his conduct, "and particularly insisted on his coming from the Vulture, under a flag which he had sent for that purpose." He declared that if Andre suffered, he should think himself bound in honour to retaliate. He also observed "that forty of the principal inhabitants of South-Carolina had justly forfeited their lives, which had hitherto been spared only through the clemency of sir Henry Clinton, but who could no longer extend his mercy if major Andre suffered: an event which would probably open a scene of bloodshed, at which humanity must revolt." He entreated Washington by his own honour, and for that of humanity not to suffer an unjust sentence to touch the life of Andre, but if that warning should be disregarded and Andre suffer, he called Heaven and earth to witness that he alone would be justly answerable for the torrents of blood that might be spilt in consequence."

Every exertion was made by the royal commanders to save Andre, but without effect. It was the general opinion of the American army that his life was forfeited, and that national dignity and sound policy required that the forfeiture should be exacted.

Andre, though superior to the terrors of death, wished



to die like a soldier. To obtain this favour, he wrote a letter to general Washington, fraught with sentiments of military dignity. From an adherence to the usages of war, it was not thought proper to grant this request; but his delicacy was saved from the pain of receiving a negative answer. The guard which attended him in his confinement, marched with him to the place of execution. The way, over which he passed, was crowded on each side by anxious spectators. Their sensibility was strongly impressed, by beholding a well dressed youth, in the bloom of life, of a peculiarly engaging person, mein and aspect, devoted to immediate execution. Major Andre walked with firmness, composure and dignity, between two officers of his guard, his arm being locked in theirs. Upon seeing the preparations at the fatal spot, he asked with some degree of concern, "Must I die in this manner?"—He was told it was unavoidable—He replied, "I am reconciled to my fate, but not to the mode;" but soon subjoined "It will be but a momentary pang." He ascended the cart with a pleasing countenance, and with a degree of composure which excited the admiration and melted the hearts of all the spectators. He was asked when the fatal moment was at hand, if he had any thing to say? he answered, "Nothing, but to request that you will witness to the world that I die like a brave man." The succeeding moments closed the affecting scene.

This execution was the subject of severe censures. Barbarity, cruelty and murder, were plentifully charged on the Americans, but the impartial of all nations allowed, that it was warranted by the usages of war. It cannot be condemned, without condemning the maxims of self preservation, which have uniformly guided the practice of hostile nations. The finer feelings of humanity would have been gratified, by dispensing with the rigid maxims.

of war in favour of so distinguished an officer, but these feelings must be controuled by a regard for the public safety. Such was the distressed state of the American army, and so abundant were their causes of complaint, that there was much to fear from the contagious nature of treachery. Could it have been reduced to a certainty that there were no more Arnolds in America, perhaps Andre's life might have been spared; but the necessity of discouraging farther plots, fixed his fate, and stamped it with the seal of political necessity. If conjectures in the boundless field of possible contingences were to be indulged, it might be said that it was more consonant to extended humanity to take one life, than by ill-timed lenity to lay a foundation, which probably would occasion not only the loss of many, but endanger the independence of a great country.

Though a regard to the public safety imposed a necessity for inflicting the rigours of martial law, yet the rare worth of this unfortunate officer made his unhappy case the subject of universal regret. Not only among the partizans of royal government, but among the firmest American republicans, the friendly tear of sympathy freely flowed, for the early fall of this amiable young man. Some condemned, others justified, but all regretted the fatal sentence which put a period to his valuable life.

This grand project terminated with no other alteration in respect of the British, than that of their exchanging one of their best officers for the worst man in the American army. Arnold was immediately made a brigadier general, in the service of the king of Great-Britain. The failure of the scheme respecting West-Point, made it necessary for him to dispel the cloud which overshadowed his character, by the performance of some signal service for his new masters. The condition of the American

army, afforded him a prospect of doing something of consequence. He flattered himself, that by the allurements of pay and promotion, he should be able to raise a numerous force, from among the distressed American soldiery. He therefore took methods for accomplishing this purpose, by obviating their scruples, and working on their passions. His first public measure, was issuing an address, directed to the inhabitants of America, dated from New-York, five days after Andre's execution. In this, he endeavoured to justify himself for deserting their cause. He said, "that when he first engaged in it, he conceived the rights of his country to be in danger, and that duty and honour called him to her defence. A redress of grievances, was his only aim and object. He however acquiesced in the declaration of independence, although he thought it precipitate. But the reasons that were then offered to justify that measure, no longer could exist, when Great-Britain, with the open arms of a parent, offered to embrace them as children, and to grant the wished for redress. From the refusal of these proposals, and the ratification of the French alliance, all his ideas of the justice and policy of the war, were totally changed, and from that time, he had become a professed loyalist." He acknowledged, that "in these principles he had only retained his arms and command, for an opportunity to surrender them to Great-Britain." This address was soon followed by another, inscribed to the officers and soldiers of the continental army. This was intended to induce them to follow his example, and engage in the royal service. He informed them, that he was authorized to raise a corps of cavalry and infantry, who were to be on the same footing with the other troops in the British service. To allure the private men, three guineas were offered to each, besides payment for their

horses, arms, and accoutrements. Rank in the British army, was also held out to the American officers, who would recruit and bring in a certain number of men, proportioned to the different grades in military service. These offers were proposed to unpaid soldiers, who were suffering from the want of both food and clothing, and to officers who were in a great degree obliged to support themselves from their own resources, while they were spending the prime of their days, and risking their lives, in the unproductive service of congress. Though they were urged at a time when the paper currency was at its lowest ebb of depreciation, and the wants and distresses of the American army were at their highest pitch, yet they did not produce the intended effect on a single sentinel or officer. Whether the circumstances of Arnold's case, added new shades to the crime of desertion, or whether their providential escape from the deep laid scheme against West-Point, gave a higher tone to the firmness of the American soldiery, cannot be unfolded: but either from these, or some other causes, desertion wholly ceased at this remarkable period of the war.

It is matter of reproach to the United States, that they brought into public view a man of Arnold's character, but it is to the honour of human nature, that a great revolution and an eight years war produced but one. In civil contests, for officers to change sides has not been unusual, but in the various events of the American war, and among the many regular officers it called to the field, nothing occurred that bore any resemblance to the conduct of Arnold. His singular case enforces the policy of conferring high trusts exclusively on men of clean hands, and of withholding all public confidence from those who are subjected to the dominion of pleasure.

A gallant enterprize of major Talmadge about this time, shall close this chapter. He crossed the  
 Nov. 28. sound to Long-Island with 80 men, made a circuitous march of 20 miles to Fort George, and reduced it without any other loss than that of one private man wounded. He killed and wounded eight of the enemy, captured a lieutenant colonel, a captain, and 55 privates.

---

## CHAPTER XXI

*Foreign Affairs, connected with the American Revolution, 1780, 1781.*

**THAT** spark which was first kindled at Boston, gradually expanded itself till sundry of the nations of Europe were involved in its wide spreading flame. France, Spain and Holland, were in the year 1778, 1779, and 1780 successively drawn in for a share of the general calamity.

These events had so direct an influence on the American war, that a short recapitulation of them becomes necessary.

Soon after his most catholic majesty declared war against Great-Britain, expeditions were carried on by don Galvez, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, against the British settlements in West-Florida. These were  
 May 5, easily reduced. The conquest of the whole pro-  
 1781. vince was completed in a few months by the reduction of Pensacola. The Spaniards were not so successful in their attempts against Gibraltar and Jamaica. They had blockaded the former of these places on the

land side ever since July 1779, and soon after invested it as closely by sea, as the nature of the gut, and variety of wind and weather would permit. Towards the close of the year the garrison was reduced to great straits. Vegetables were with difficulty to be got at any price, but bread, the great essential both of life and health, was most deficient. Governor Eliot, who commanded in the garrison, made an experiment to ascertain what quantity of rice would suffice a single person, and lived for eight successive days, on thirty-two ounces of that nutritious grain.

The critical situation of Gibraltar called for relief. A strong squadron was prepared for that purpose, <sup>Feb. 8,</sup> and the command of it given to sir George Rod- <sup>1780,</sup> ney. He, when on his way thither, fell in with 15 sail of merchantmen, under a slight convoy, bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz, and captured the whole. Several of the vessels were laden with provisions, which being sent into Gibraltar, proved a seasonable supply. <sup>July 18,</sup> In eight days after, he engaged near Cape St. Vincent with a Spanish squadron of 11 sail of the line, commanded by don Juan de Langara. Early in the action the Spanish ship San Domingo, mounting 70 guns, and carrying 600 men, blew up, and all on board perished. The action continued with great vigour on both sides for ten hours. The Spanish admiral's ship, the Phoenix, of 80 guns, with three of 70 were carried into a British port. The San Julian of 70 guns was taken. A lieutenant with 70 British seamen was put on board, but as she ran on shore, the victors became prisoners. Another ship of the same force was also taken, but afterwards totally lost. Four escaped, but two of them were greatly damaged. The Spanish admiral did not strike till his ship was reduced to a mere wreck. Cap-

tain Macbride, of the *Bienfaisant*, to whom he struck, disdaining to convey infection even to an enemy, informed him that a malignant small pox prevailed on board the *Bienfaisant*; and offered to permit the Spanish prisoners to stay on board the *Phoenix*, rather than by a removal to expose them to the small pox, trusting to the admiral's honour, that no advantage would be taken of the circumstance. The proposal was cheerfully embraced, and the conditions honourably observed. The consequence of this important victory, was the immediate and complete relief of Gibraltar. This being done, Rodney proceeded to the West-Indies. The Spaniards nevertheless persevered with steadiness, in their original design, of reducing Gibraltar. They seemed to be entirely absorbed in that object. The garrison after some time, began again to suffer the inconveniences which flow from deficient and unwholesome food: but in April 1781, complete relief was obtained through the intervention of a British fleet, commanded by admiral Darby.

The court of Spain, mortified at this repeated disappointment, determined to make greater exertions. Their works were carried on with more vigour than ever. Having on an experiment of 20 months, found the inefficacy of a blockade, they resolved to try the effects of a bombardment. Their batteries were mounted with guns of the heaviest metal, and with mortars of the largest dimensions. These disgorged torrents of fire on a narrow spot. It seemed as if not only the works, but the rock itself must have been overwhelmed. All distinction of parts was lost in flame and smoke. This dreadful cannonade continued day and night, almost incessantly for three weeks, in every 24 hours of which, 100,000 lbs. of gunpowder were consumed, and between

4 and 5000 shot and shells went through the town. It then slackened, but was not intermitted for one whole day for upwards of a twelve month. The fatigues of the garrison were extreme, but the loss of men was less than might be expected. For the first ten weeks of this unexampled bombardment, the whole number of killed and wounded was only about 300. The damage done to the works was trifling. The houses in town, about 500 in number, were mostly destroyed. Such of the inhabitants as were not buried in the ruins of their houses, or torn to pieces by the shells, fled to the remote parts of the rock, but destruction followed them to places which had always been deemed secure. No scene could be more deplorable. Mothers and children clasped in each other's arms, were so completely torn to pieces, that it seemed more like an annihilation, than a dispersion of their shattered fragments. Ladies of the greatest sensibility and most delicate constitutions, deemed themselves happy to be admitted to a few hours repose in the casements, amidst the noise of a crowded soldiery, and the groans of the wounded.

At the first onset general Elliot retorted on the besiegers a shower of fire, but, foreseeing the difficulty of procuring supplies, he soon retrenched, and received with comparative unconcern, the fury and violence of his adversaries. By the latter end of November, the besiegers had brought their works to that state of perfection which they intended. The care and ingenuity employed upon them were extraordinary. The best engineers of France and Spain had united their abilities, and both kingdoms were filled with sanguine expectations of speedy success. In this conjuncture, when all Europe was in suspense concerning the fate of the garrison, and when from the prodigious efforts made



for its reduction, many believed that it could not hold out much longer, a sally was projected and executed, which in about two hours destroyed those works which had required so much time, skill and labour to accomplish.

A body of 2000 chosen men, under the command of  
1781  
Nov. 27. brigadier general Ross, marched out about two o'clock in the morning, and at the same instant made a general attack on the whole exterior front of the lines of the besiegers. The Spaniards gave way on every side, and abandoned their works. The pioneers and artillery men spread their fire with such rapidity, that in a little time every thing combustible was in flames. The mortars and cannon were spiked, and their beds, platforms and carriages destroyed. The magazines blew up, one after another. The loss of the detachment, which accomplished all this destruction, was inconsiderable.

This unexpected event disconcerted the besiegers, but they soon recovered from their alarm, and with a perseverance almost peculiar to their nation, determined to go on with the siege. Their subsequent exertions, and reiterated defeats, shall be related in the order of time in which they took place.

While the Spaniards were urging the siege of Gibraltar, a scheme which had been previously concerted with the French, was in a train of execution. This consisted of two parts. The object of the first, concerted between the French and Spaniards, was no less than the conquest of Jamaica. The object of the second, in which the French and the Americans were parties, was the reduction of New-York. In conformity to this plan, the monarchs of France and Spain, early in the year 1780, assembled a force in the West-Indies, su-

terior to that of the British. Their combined fleets amounted to thirty-six sail of the line, and their land forces were in a correspondent proportion. By acting in concert, they hoped to make rapid conquests in the West Indies. Fortunately for the British interest, this great hostile force carried within itself the cause of its own overthrow. The Spanish troops, from being too much crowded on board their transports, were seized with a mortal and contagious distemper. This spread through the French fleet and land forces, as well as their own. With the hopes of arresting its progress, the Spaniards were landed in the French islands. By these disastrous events, the spirit of enterprize was damped. The combined fleets, having neither effected nor attempted any thing of consequence, desisted from the prosecution of the objects of the campaign. The failure of the first part of the plan, occasioned the failure of the second. Count de Guichen, the commander of the French fleet, who was to have followed M. de Ternay, and to have cooperated with general Washington, instead of coming to the American continent, sailed with a large convoy, collected from the French islands, directly for France.

The abortive plans of the French and Spaniards, operated directly against the interest of the United States, but this was in a short time counterbalanced by the increased embarrassments occasioned to Great Britain, by the armed neutrality of the northern powers, and by a rupture with Holland.

The naval superiority of Great Britain, had long been the subject of regret and of envy. As it was the interest, so it seemed to be the wish of European sovereigns, to avail themselves of the present favourable

moments to effect a humiliation of her maritime grandeur. That the flags of all nations must strike to British ships of war could not be otherwise than mortifying to independent sovereigns. This haughty demand was not their only cause of complaint. The activity and number of British privateers, had rendered them objects of terror, not only to the commercial shipping of their enemies, but to the many vessels belonging to other powers, that were employed in trading with them. Various litigations had taken place between the commanders of British armed vessels, and those who were in the service of neutral powers, respecting the extent of that commerce, which was consistent with a strict and fair neutrality. The British insisted on the lawfulness of seizing supplies, which were about to be carried to their enemies. Having been in the habit of commanding on the sea, they considered power and right to be synonymous terms. As other nations, from a dread of provoking their vengeance, had submitted to their claim of dominion on the ocean, they fancied themselves invested with authority to controul the commerce of independent nations, when it interfered with their views. This haughtiness worked its own overthrow. The empress of Russia took the lead in establishing a system of maritime laws, which subverted the claims of Great-Britain. Her trading vessels had long been harassed by British searches and seizures, on pretence of their carrying on a commerce inconsistent with neutrality. The present crisis favoured the reestablishment of the laws of nature, in place of the usurpations of Great-Britain.

Feb. 26, 1780. A declaration was published by the empress of Russia, addressed to the courts of London, Versailles and Madrid. In this it was observed, "that her imperial majesty had given such convincing proofs

of the strict regard she had for the rights of neutrality, and the liberty of commerce in general; that it might have been hoped her impartial conduct, would have entitled her subjects to the enjoyment of the advantages belonging to neutral nations. Experience had however proved the contrary; her subjects had been molested in their navigation, by the ships and privateers of the belligerent powers." Her majesty therefore declared, "that she found it necessary to remove these vexations which had been offered to the commerce of Russia; but before she came to any serious measures, she thought it just and equitable, to expose to the world and particularly to the belligerent powers, the principles she had adopted for her conduct, which were as follows.

"That neutral ships should enjoy a free navigation, even from port to port, and on the coasts of the belligerent powers. That all effects belonging to the belligerent powers, should be looked on as free on board such neutral ships, with an exception of places actually blocked up or besieged, and with a proviso that they do not carry to the enemy contraband articles." These were limited by an explanation, so as to "comprehend only warlike stores and ammunition." Her imperial majesty declared, that "she was firmly resolved to maintain these principles, and that with the view of protecting the commerce and navigation of her subjects, she had given orders to fit out a considerable part of her naval force." This declaration was communicated to the States General, and the empress of Russia invited them to make a common cause with her, so far as such an union might serve to protect commerce and navigation. Similar communications and invitations were also made to the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon. A civil answer

was received from the court of Great-Britain, and a very cordial one from the court of France. On this occasion, it was said by his most christian majesty, "that what her imperial majesty claimed from the belligerent powers, was nothing more than the rules prescribed to the French navy." The kings of Sweden and Denmark, also formally acceded to the principles and measures proposed by the empress of Russia. The States General did the same. The queen of Portugal was the only sovereign who refused to concur. The powers engaged in this association resolved to support each other against any of the belligerent nations, who should violate the principles which had been laid down, in the declaration of the empress of Russia.

This combination assumed the name of the armed neutrality. By it a respectable guarantee was procured to a commerce, from which France and Spain procured a plentiful supply of articles, essentially conducive to a vigorous prosecution of the war. The usurped authority of Great-Britain on the highway of nature received a fatal blow. Her embarrassments from this source were aggravated by the consideration, that they came from a power in whose friendship she had confided.

About the same time the enemies of Great-Britain were increased by the addition of the States General. Though these two powers were bound to each other by the obligations of treaties, the conduct of the latter had long been considered rather as hostile than friendly. Few Europeans had a greater prospect of advantage from American independence than the Hollanders. The conquest of the United States, would have regained to Great-Britain a monopoly of their trade; but the establishment of their independence promised to other nations an equal chance of participating therein. As commerce

is the soul of the United Netherlands, to have neglected the present opportunity of extending it, would have been a deviation from their established maxims of policy. Former treaties, framed in distant periods, when other views were predominant, opposed but a feeble barrier to the claims of present interest. The past generation found it to their advantage, to seek the friendship and protection of Great-Britain. But they who were now on the stage of life, had similar inducements to seek for new channels of trade. Though this could not be done without thwarting the views of the court of London, their recollection of former favours was not sufficient to curb their immediate favourite passion. From the year 1777, sir Joseph Yorke, the British minister at the Hague, had made sundry representations to their high mightinesses, of the clandestine commerce carried on between their subjects and the Americans. He particularly stated, that Mr. Van Graaf, the governor of St. Eustatius, had permitted an illicit commerce with the Americans, and had at one time returned the salute of a vessel carrying their flag. Sir Joseph, therefore, demanded a formal disavowal of this salute, and the dismissal and immediate recall of governor Van Graaf. This insolent demand was answered with a pusillanimous temporizing reply. On the 12th of September 1778, a memorial was presented to the States General, from the merchants and others of Amsterdam, in which they complained that their lawful commerce was obstructed by the ships of his Britannic majesty. On the 22d of July, 1779, sir Joseph Yorke demanded of the States General, the succours which were stipulated in the treaty of 1678: but this was not complied with. Friendly declarations and unfriendly actions followed each other in alternate succession. At length a declaration was published by the king of Great

Britain, by which it was announced, "that the subjects of the United Provinces, were henceforth to be considered upon the same footing with other martial powers not privileged by treaty." Throughout the whole of this period, the Dutch, by means of neutral ports, continued to supply the Americans; and the English, to insult and intercept their navigation; but open hostilities were avoided by both. The former aimed principally at the gains of a lucrative commerce, the latter to remove all obstacles which stood in the way of their favourite scheme of conquering the Americans. The event which occasioned a formal declaration of war, was the capture of Henry Laurens. In the deranged state of the American finances, that gentleman had been deputed by congress, to solicit a loan for their service in the United Netherlands; and also to negotiate a treaty between them and the United States. On his way thither, he was taken  
 Sep. 3, by the Vestal frigate, commanded by captain  
 1780. Kepple. He had thrown his papers overboard; but great part of them were nevertheless recovered without having received much damage. His papers  
 Oct. 6. being delivered to the ministry, were carefully examined. Among them was found one purporting to be a plan of a treaty of amity and commerce, between the States of Holland and the United States of America. This had been originally drawn up in consequence of some conversation between William Lee, whom congress had appointed commissioner to the courts of Vienna and Berlin, and John de Neufville, merchant of Amsterdam, as a plan of a treaty destined to be concluded hereafter; but it had never been proposed either by congress or the States of Holland, though it had received the approbation of the pensionary Van Berkel, and of the city of Amsterdam. As this was not an official paper,

and had never been read in congress, the original was given to Mr. Laurens as a paper that might be useful to him in his projected negotiations. This unauthentic paper, which was in Mr. Laurens' possession by accident, and which was so nearly sunk in the ocean, proved the occasion of a national war. The court of Great-Britain was highly offended at it. The paper itself, and some others relating to the same subject, were delivered to the prince of Orange, who laid them before the States of Holland and West-Friesland.

Nov. 5.  
Nov. 10.  
1780.

Sir Joseph Yorke presented a memorial to the States General, in which he asserted, "That the papers of Mr. Laurens, who styled himself president of the pretended congress, had furnished the discovery of a plot unexampled in all the annals of the republic. That it appeared by these papers, that the gentlemen of Amsterdam had been engaged in a clandestine correspondence with the American rebels, from the month of August 1778, and that instructions and full powers had been given by them for the conclusion of a treaty of indisputable amity with those rebels, who were the subjects of a sovereign, to whom the republic was united by the closest engagements." He therefore, in the name of his master, demanded "A formal disavowal of this irregular conduct, and a prompt satisfaction proportioned to the offence, and an exemplary punishment of the pensionary Van Berkel, and his accomplices, as disturbers of the public peace and violators of the laws of nations." The States General disavowed the intended treaty of the city of Amsterdam, and engaged to prosecute the pensionary according to the laws of the country; but this was not deemed satisfactory. Sir Joseph Yorke was ordered to withdraw from the Hague, and soon after a manifesto against the Dutch was published in London. This

Dec. 20.



was followed by an order of council, "That general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods and subjects, of the States General." Whatever may be thought of the policy of this measure, its boldness must be admired. Great-Britain, already at war with the United States of America, the monarchies of France and Spain, deliberately resolves on a war with Holland, and at a time when she might have avoided open hostilities. Her spirit was still farther evinced by the consideration that she was deserted by her friends, and without a single ally. Great must have been her resources, to support so extensive a war against so many hostile sovereigns; but this very ability, by proving that her overgrown power was dangerous to the peace of Europe, furnished an apology for their combination against her.

A war with Holland being resolved upon, the storm of British vengeance first burst on the Dutch island of St. Eustatius. This, though intrinsically of little value, had long been the seat of an extensive commerce. It was the grand freeport of the West-Indies, and as such was a general market and magazine to all nations. In consequence of its neutrality and situation, together with its unbounded freedom of trade, it reaped the richest harvests of commerce, during the seasons of warfare among its neighbours. It was in a particular manner, a convenient channel of supply to the Americans.

The island is a natural fortification, and very capable of being made strong; but as its inhabitants were a motley mixture of transient persons, wholly intent on the gains of commerce, they were more solicitous to acquire property, than attentive to improve those means of security which the island afforded.

1781. Sir George Rodney and general Vaughan,  
Febr. 3 with a large fleet and army, surrounded this isl-

and, and demanded a surrender thereof and of its dependencies within an hour. Mr. de Graaf returned for answer "that being utterly incapable of making any defence against the force which invested the island, he must of necessity surrender it, only recommending the town and its inhabitants to the known and usual clemency of British commanders."

The wealth accumulated in this barren spot was prodigious. The whole island seemed to be one vast magazine. The store-houses were filled, and the beach covered with valuable commodities. These on a moderate calculation were estimated to be worth above three millions sterling. All this property, together with what was found on the island, was indiscriminately seized and declared to be confiscated. This valuable booty was farther increased by new arrivals. The conquerors for some time kept up Dutch colours, which decoyed a number of French, Dutch and American vessels into their hands. Above 150 merchant vessels, most of which were richly laden, were captured. A Dutch frigate of 38 guns, and five small armed vessels, shared the same fate. The neighbouring islands of St. Martin and Saba were in like manner reduced. Just before the arrival of the British, 30 large ships, laden with West-India commodities, had sailed from Eustatius for Holland, under the convoy of a ship of 60 guns. Admiral Rodney despatched the *Monarch* and *Panther*, with the *Sybil* frigate, in pursuit of this fleet. The whole of it was overtaken and captured.

The Dutch West-India company, many of the citizens of Amsterdam, and several Americans, were great sufferers by the capture of this island, and the confiscation of all property found therein, which immediately followed; but the British merchants were much

more so. These, confiding in the acknowledged neutrality of the island, and in acts of parliament, had accumulated therein great quantities of West-India produce, as well as of European goods. They stated their hard case to admiral Rodney and general Vaughan, and contended that their connexion with the captured island was under the sanction of acts of parliament, and that their commerce had been conducted according to the rules and maxims of trading nations. To applications of this kind it was answered, "That the island was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, was under the protection of the Dutch flag, and as Dutch it should be treated."

The severity with which the victors proceeded, drew on them pointed censures, not only from the immediate sufferers, but from all Europe. It must be supposed, that they were filled with resentment for the supplies which the Americans received through this channel; but there is also reason to suspect, that the love of gain was cloaked under the specious veil of national policy.

The horrors of an universal havoc of property were realized. The merchants and traders were ordered to give up their books of correspondence, their letters, and also inventories of all their effects, inclusive of an exact account of all money and plate in their possession. The Jews were designated as objects of particular resentment. They were ordered to give up the keys of their stores, to leave their wealth and merchandize behind them, and to depart the island without knowing the place of their destination. From a natural wish to be furnished with the means of supplying their wants, in the place of their future residence, they secreted in their wearing apparel, gold, silver, and other articles

of great value and small bulk. The policy of these unfortunate Hebrews did not avail them. The avarice of the conquerors, effectually counteracted their ingenuity. They were stripped, searched, and despoiled of their money and jewels. In this state of wretchedness, many of the inhabitants were transported as outlaws, and landed on St. Christopher's. The assembly of that island, with great humanity, provided for them such articles as their situation required. The Jews were soon followed by the Americans; some of these, though they had been banished from the United States on account of their having taken part with Great-Britain, were banished a second time by the conquering troops of the sovereign in whose service they had previously suffered. The French merchants and traders were next ordered off the island, and lastly the native Dutch were obliged to submit to the same sentence. Many opulent persons, in consequence of these proceedings, were instantly reduced to extreme indigence.

In the mean time public sales were advertised, and persons of all nations invited to become purchasers. The island of St. Eustatius became a scene of constant auctions. There never was a better market for buyers. The immense quantities exposed for sale, reduced the price of many articles far below their original cost. Many of the commodities sold on this occasion, became in the hands of their new purchasers, as effectual supplies to the enemies of Great-Britain, as they could have been in case the island had not been captured. The spirit of gain, which led the traders of St. Eustatius to sacrifice the interests of Great-Britain, influenced the conquerors to do the same. The friends of humanity, who wish that war was exterminated from the world, or entered into only for the attainment of national jus-

tice, must be gratified when they are told, that this unexampled rapacity was one link in the great chain of causes, which, as hereafter shall be explained, brought on the great event in the Chesapeake, which gave peace to contending nations. While admiral Rodney and his officers were bewildered, in the sales of confiscated property at St. Eustatius, and especially while his fleet was weakened by a large detachment sent off to convoy their booty to Great-Britain, the French were silently executing a well digested scheme, which assured them a naval superiority on the American coast, to the total ruin of the British interest in the United States.

---

## CHAPTER XXII.

*The revolt of the Pennsylvania line; of part of the Jersey troops; distresses of the American army; Arnold's invasion of Virginia.*

**THOUGH** general Arnold's address to his countrymen produced no effect, in detaching the soldiery of America from the unproductive service of congress, their steadiness could not be accounted for, from any melioration of their circumstances. They still remained without pay, and without such cloathing as the season required. They could not be induced to enter the British service, but their complicated distresses at length broke out into deliberate mutiny. This event, which had been long expected, made its first threatening appearance in the Pennsylvania line. The common soldiers enlisted in that state, were for the most part natives of Ireland;

but though not bound to America by the accidental tie of birth, they were inferior to none in discipline, courage, or attachment to the cause of independence. They had been but a few months before, the most active instruments in quelling a mutiny of the Connecticut troops, and had on all occasions done their duty to admiration. An ambiguity in the the terms of their enlistment, furnished a pretext for their conduct. A great part of them were enlisted for three years or during the war—the three years were expired, and the men insisted that the choice of staying or going remained with them, while the officers contended, that the choice was in the state.

The mutiny was excited by the non-commissioned officers and privates, in the night of the 1st of January, 1781, and soon became so universal in the line of that state, as to defy all opposition. The whole, except three regiments, upon a signal for the purpose, turned out under arms without their officers, and declared for a redress of grievances. The officers in vain endeavoured to quell them. Several were wounded, and a captain was killed in attempting it. General Wayne presented his pistols, as if about to fire on them; they held their bayonets to his breast, and said, "We love and respect you, but if you fire you are a dead man. We are not going to the enemy, on the contrary, if they were now to come out, you should see us fight under your orders with as much alacrity as ever; but we will be no longer amused, we are determined on obtaining our just due." Deaf to arguments and entreaties, they, to the number of 1300 moved off in a body from Morristown, and proceeded in good order with their arms and six field pieces to Princeton. They elected temporary officers from their own body, and appointed a sergeant major,

who had formerly deserted from the British army, to be their commander. General Wayne forwarded provisions after them, to prevent their plundering the country for their subsistence. They invaded no man's property farther than their immediate necessities made unavoidable. This was readily submitted to by the inhabitants, who had long been used to exactions of the same kind, levied for similar purposes by their lawful rulers. They professed that they had no object in view, but to obtain what was justly due to them, nor were their actions inconsistent with that profession.

Congress sent a committee of their body, consisting of general Sullivan, Mr. Mathews, Mr. Atlee, and Dr. Witherspoon, to procure an accommodation. The rebels were resolute in refusing any terms, of which a redress of their grievances was not the foundation. Every thing asked of their country, they might at any time after the 6th of January, have obtained from the British, by passing over into New-York. This they refused. Their sufferings had exhausted their patience, but not their patriotism. Sir Henry Clinton, by confidential messengers, offered to take them under the protection of the British government—to pardon all their past offences—to have the pay due them from congress faithfully made up, without any expectation of military service in return, although it would be received if voluntarily offered. It was recommended to them to move behind the South-River, and it was promised, that a detachment of British troops should be in readiness for their protection as soon as desired. In the mean time, the troops passed over from New-York to Staten-Island, and the necessary arrangements were made for moving them into New-Jersey, whensoever they might be wanted. The royal commander was not less disappointed

than surprized, to find that the faithful, though revolting soldiers, disdained his offers. The messengers of sir Henry Clinton were seized and delivered to general Wayne. President Reed and general Potter were appointed by the council of Pennsylvania, to accommodate matters with the revolters. They met them at Princeton, and agreed to dismiss all whose terms of enlistment were completed, and admitted the oath of each soldier to be evidence in his own case. A board of officers tried and condemned the British spies, and they were instantly executed. President Reed offered a purse of 100 guineas to the mutineers, as a reward of their fidelity, in delivering up the spies; but they refused to accept it, saying, "That what they had done was only a duty they owed their country, and that they neither desired nor would receive any reward but the approbation of that country, for which they had so often fought and bled."

By these healing measures the revolt was completely quelled; but the complaints of the soldiers being founded in justice, were first redressed. Those whose time of service was expired obtained their discharges, and others had their arrears of pay in a great measure made up to them. A general amnesty closed the business. On this occasion, the commander in chief stated in a circular letter to the four eastern states, the well founded complaints of his army, and the impossibility of keeping them together, under the pressure of such a variety of sufferings. General Knox was requested to be the bearer of these despatches, and to urge the states to an immediate exertion for the relief of the soldiers. He visited Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode-Island; and with great earnestness, and equal success, described the wants of



the army. Massachusetts gave 24 silver dollars to each man of her line; and also furnished them with some clothing. Other states about the same time made similar advances.

January, 1781. The spirit of mutiny proved contagious. About 160 of the Jersey troops followed the example of the Pennsylvania line; but they did not conduct with equal spirit, nor with equal prudence. They committed sundry acts of outrage against particular officers, while they affected to be submissive to others. Major general Howe, with a considerable force, was ordered to take methods for reducing them to obedience. Convinced that there was no medium between dignity and servility, but coercion, and that no other remedy could be applied without the deepest wound to the service, he determined to proceed against them with decision. General Howe marched from Kingwood about midnight; and by the dawning of the next day, had his men in four different positions, to prevent the revoltors from making their escape. Every avenue being secured, colonel Barber of the Jersey line, was sent to them, with orders immediately to parade without arms, and to march to a particular spot of ground. Some hesitation appearing amongst them, colonel Sprout was directed to advance, and only five minutes were given to the mutineers to comply with the orders which had been sent them. This had its effect, and they to a man marched without arms to the appointed ground. The Jersey officers gave a list of the leaders of the revolt, upon which general Howe desired them to select three of the greatest offenders. A field court martial was presently held upon these three, and they were unanimously sentenced to death. Two of them were executed on the spot, and the executioners were select-

ed from among the most active in the mutiny. The men were divided into platoons, and made public concessions to their officers, and promised by future good conduct to atone for past offences.

These mutinies alarmed the states, but did not produce permanent relief to the army. Their wants with respect to provisions, were only partially supplied, and by expedients from one short time to another. The most usual was ordering an officer to seize on provisions wherever found. This differed from robbing only in its being done by authority for the public service, and in the officer being always directed to give the proprietor a certificate of the quantity and quality of what was taken from him. At first some reliance was placed on these certificates as vouchers to support a future demand on the United States; but they soon became so common as to be of little value. Recourse was so frequently had to coercion, both legislative and military, that the people not only lost confidence in public credit, but became impatient under all exertions of authority for forcing their property from them. That an army should be kept together under such circumstances, so far exceeds credibility, as to make it necessary to produce some evidence of the fact. The American general Clinton, in a letter to general Washington, dated at Albany, April 16th, 1781, wrote as follows: "There is not now (independent of Fort Schuyler) three days provision in the whole department for the troops in case of an alarm, nor any prospect of procuring any. The recruits of the new levies I cannot receive, because I have nothing to give them. The Canadian families, I have been obliged to deprive of their scanty pittance, contrary to every principle of humanity. The quartermaster's department is totally useless, the public armory has been shut up

for near three weeks, and a total suspension of every military operation has ensued." Soon after this, general Washington was obliged to apply 9000 dollars, sent by the state of Massachusetts for the payment of her troops, to the use of the quartermaster's department, to enable him to transport provisions from the adjacent states. Before he consented to adopt this expedient, he had consumed every ounce of provision, which had been kept as a reserve in the garrison of West-Point; and had strained impress by military force, to so great an extent, that there was reason to apprehend the inhabitants, irritated by such frequent calls, would proceed to dangerous insurrections. Fort Schuyler, West-Point, and the posts up the North-River, were on the point of being abandoned by their starving garrisons. At this period of the war, there was little or no circulating medium, either in the form of paper or specie, and in the neighbourhood of the American army there was a real want of necessary provisions. The deficiency of the former occasioned many inconveniences, and an unequal distribution of the burdens of the war; but the insufficiency of the latter, had well nigh dissolved the army, and laid the country in every direction open to British excursions.

These events were not unforeseen by the rulers of America. From the progressive depreciation of their bills of credit, it had for some time past occurred, that the period could not be far distant, when they would cease to circulate. This crisis, which had been ardently wished for by the enemies, and dreaded by the friends of American independence, took place in 1781; but without realizing the hopes of the one, or the fears of the other. New resources were providentially opened, and the war was carried on with

the same vigour as before. A great deal of gold and silver was about this time introduced into the United States, by a beneficial trade with the French and Spanish West-India islands, and by means of the French army in Rhode-Island. Pathetic representations were made to the ministers of his most christian majesty by general Washington, Dr. Franklin, and particularly by lieutenant colonel John Laurens, who was sent to the court of Versailles as a special minister on this occasion. The king of France gave to the United States a subsidy of six millions of livres, and became their security for ten millions more, borrowed for their use in the United Netherlands. A regular system of finance was also about this time adopted. All matters relative to the treasury, the supplies of the army and the accounts, were put under the direction of Robert Morris, who arranged the whole with judgment and economy. The issuing of paper money by the authority of government was discontinued, and the public engagements were made payable in coin. The introduction of so much gold and silver, together with these judicious domestic regulations, aided by the bank, which had been erected the preceding year in Philadelphia, extricated congress from much of their embarrassment, and put it in their power to feed, clothe and move their army.

About the same time the old continental money, by common consent, ceased to have currency. Like an aged man expiring by the decays of nature, without a sigh or groan, it fell asleep in the hands of its last possessors. By the scale of depreciation the war was carried on five years, for little more than a million of pounds sterling, and 200 millions of paper dollars were made redeemable by five millions of silver ones. In other

countries, such measures would probably have produced popular insurrections, but in the United States they were submitted to without any tumults. Public faith was violated, but in the opinion of most men public good was promoted. The evils consequent on depreciation had taken place, and the redemption of the bills of credit at their nominal value, as originally promised, instead of remedying the distresses of the sufferers, would in many cases have increased them, by subjecting their small remains of property to exorbitant taxation. The money had in a great measure got out of the hands of the original proprietors, and was in the possession of others, who had obtained it at a rate of value not exceeding what was fixed upon it by the scale of depreciation.

Nothing could afford a stronger proof that the resistance of America to Great-Britain, was grounded in the hearts of the people, than these events. To receive paper bills of credit issued without any funds, and to give property in exchange for them, as equal to gold or silver, demonstrated the zeal and enthusiasm with which the war was begun; but to consent to the extinction of the same after a currency of five years, without any adequate provision made for their future redemption, was more than would have been borne by any people, who conceived that their rulers had separate interests or views from themselves. The demise of one king and the coronation of a lawful successor have often excited greater commotions in royal governments, than took place in the United States on the sudden extinction of their whole current money. The people saw the necessity which compelled their rulers to act in the manner they had done, and being well convinced that the good of the country was their object, quietly submitted to

measures, which under other circumstances, would scarcely have been expiated by the lives and fortunes of their authors.

While the Americans were suffering the complicated calamities which introduced the year 1781, their adversaries were carrying on the most extensive plan of operation, which had ever been attempted since the war. It had often been objected to the British commanders, that they had not conducted the war in the manner most likely to effect the subjugation of the revolted provinces. Military critics in particular, found fault with them for keeping a large army idle at New-York, which they said, if properly applied, would have been sufficient to make successful impressions, at one and the same time, on several of the states. The British seem to have calculated the campaign of 1781, with a view to make an experiment of the comparative merit of this mode of conducting military operations. The war raged in that year, not only in the vicinity of British head quarters at New-York, but in Georgia, South-Carolina, North-Carolina, and in Virginia. The latter state from its peculiar situation, and from the modes of building, planting and living, which had been adopted by the inhabitants, is particularly exposed, and lies at the mercy of whatever army is master of the Chesapeake. These circumstances, together with the pre eminent rank which Virginia held in the confederacy, pointed out the propriety of making that state the object of particular attention. To favour lord Cornwallis' designs in the southern states, major general Leslie, with about 2000 men, had been detached from New-York to the Chesapeake, in the latter end of 1780; but subsequent events induced his lordship to order him from Virginia to Charleston, with the view of his more effectually cooperating with the army under his own command.

Soon after the departure of general Leslie, Virginia was again invaded by another party from New-York. This was commanded by general Arnold, now a brigadier in the royal army. His force consisted of about 1600 men, and was supported by such a number of armed vessels as enabled him to commit extensive ravages on the unprotected coast of that well watered country. The invaders landed about 15 miles below Richmond, and in two days marched into the town, where they destroyed large quantities of tobacco, salt, rum, sailcloth, and other merchandize. Successive excursions were made to several other places, in which the royal army committed similar devastations.

In about a fortnight, they marched into Portsmouth and began to fortify it. The loss they sustained from the feeble opposition of the dispersed inhabitants was inconsiderable. The havoc made by general Arnold and the apprehension of a design to fix a permanent post in Virginia, induced general Washington to detach the marquis de la Fayette, with 1200 of the American infantry, to that state, and also to urge the French in Rhode-Island to cooperate with him in attempting to capture Arnold and his party. The French commanders eagerly closed with the proposal. Since they had landed in the United States, no proper opportunity of gratifying their passion for military fame, had yet presented itself. They rejoiced at that which now offered, and indulged a cheerful hope of rendering essential service to their allies by cutting off the retreat of Arnold's party. With this view, their fleet, with 1500 additional men on board, sailed from Rhode-Island for Virginia. D'Estouches, who since the death of de Ternay on the preceding December had commanded the French fleet, previous to the sailing of his whole

naval force, despatched the *Eveille*, a sixty-four

gun ship, and two frigates, with orders to destroy the British ships and frigates in the Chesapeake. These took or destroyed ten vessels, and captured the *Romulus* of 44 guns. Arbutnot, with a British fleet, sailed from Gardiner's bay in pursuit of D'Estouches. The former overtook and engaged the latter off the capes of Virginia. The British had the advantage of more guns than the French, but the latter were much more strongly manned than the former. The contest between the fleets, thus nearly balanced, ended without the loss of a ship on either side; but the British obtained the fruits of victory so far as to frustrate the whole scheme of their adversaries. The fleet of his most christian majesty returned to Rhode-Island, without effecting the object of the expedition. Thus was Arnold saved from imminent danger of falling into the hands of his exasperated countrymen. The day before the French fleet returned to Newport, a convoy arrived in the Chesapeake from New-York, with major general Phillips and about 2000 men. This distinguished officer, who having been taken at Saratoga had been lately exchanged, was appointed to be commander of the royal forces in Virginia. Phillips and Arnold soon made a junction, and carried every thing before them. They successively defeated those bodies of militia which came in their way. The whole country was open to their excursions. On their embarkation from Portsmouth, a detachment visited York-town, but the main body proceeded to Williamsburgh. On the 22d of April they reached Chickapowing. A party proceeded up that river 10 or 12 miles, and destroyed much property. On the 24th they landed at City-point, and soon after they marched for Petersburg. About one mile from the town they were opposed by a

March

25.

10.

15.

Mar. 25.

Apr. 22.

24.



small force commanded by baron Steuben; but this, after making a gallant resistance, was compelled to retreat.

At Petersburg they destroyed 4000 hogsheads of tobacco, a ship, and a number of small vessels.

April 27. Within three days, one party marched to Chesterfield court house, and burned a range of barracks, and 300 barrels of flour. On the same day, another party under the command of general Arnold, marched to Osborne's. About four miles above that place, a small marine force was drawn up to oppose him. General Arnold sent a flag to treat with the commander of this fleet, but he declared that he would defend it to the last extremity. Upon this refusal, Arnold advanced with some artillery, and fired upon him with decisive effect from the banks of the river. Two ships and ten small vessels loaded with tobacco, cordage, flour, &c. were captured. Four ships, five brigantines, and a number of small vessels were burnt or sunk. The quantity of tobacco taken or destroyed in this fleet, exceeded 2000 hogsheads, and the whole was effected without the loss of a single man,

on the side of the British. The royal forces then  
April 30. marched up to the fork till they arrived at Manchester. There they destroyed 1200 hogsheads of tobacco; returning thence, they made great havoc at Warmic. They destroyed the ships on the stocks, and in the river, and a large range of rope walks. A magazine of 500 barrels of flour, with a number of warehouses and tan houses, all filled with their respective commodities, were also consumed in one general conflagration. On the 9th of May they returned to Petersburg, having in the course of the preceding three weeks, destroyed property to an immense amount. With this expedition, major general Phillips terminated a life, which in all his previous operations had been full of glory. At early periods of his

military career, on different occasions of a preceding war, he had gained the full approbation of prince Ferdinand, under whom he had served in Germany. As an officer, he was universally admired. Though much of the devastations committed by the troops under his command, may be vindicated on the principles of those who hold that the rights and laws of war, are of equal obligation with the rights and laws of humanity; yet the friends of his fame, have reason to regret that he did not die three weeks sooner.

---

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### *Campaign of 1781. Operations in the two Carolinas and Georgia.*

**THE** successes which, with a few checks, followed the British arms since they had reduced Savannah, and Charleston, encouraged them to pursue their object by advancing from south to north. A vigorous invasion of North-Carolina was therefore projected, for the business of the winter which followed general Gates' defeat. The Americans were sensible of the necessity of reinforcing, and supporting their southern army, but were destitute of the means of doing it. Their northern army would not admit of being farther weakened, nor was there time to march over the intervening distance of seven hundred miles, but if men could have been procured and time allowed for marching them to South-Carolina, money for defraying the unavoidable expenses of their transportation, could not be commanded, either in the latter end of

1780, or the first months of 1781. Though congress was unable to forward either men or money, for the relief of the southern states, they did what was equivalent. They sent them a general, whose head was a council, and whose military talents were equal to a reinforcement. The nomination of an officer for this important trust, was left to general Washington. He mentioned general Greene, adding for reason, "that he was an officer in whose abilities and integrity, from a long and intimate experience, he had the most entire confidence."

The army after its defeat and dispersion on the 16th of August 1780, rendezvoused at Hillsborough. In the latter end of the year they advanced to Charlotte-Town. At this place general Gates transferred the command to general Greene. The manly resignation of the one, was equalled by the delicate disinterestedness of the other. Expressions of civility, and acts of friendship and attention, were reciprocally exchanged. Greene upon all occasions, was the vindicator of Gates' reputation. In his letters and conversation, he uniformly maintained that his predecessor had failed in no part of his military duty, and that he had deserved success, though he could not command it. Within a few hours after Greene took charge of the army, a report was made of a gallant enterprize of lieutenant colonel Washington. Being out on a foraging excursion, he had penetrated within 13 miles of Camden, to Clermont the seat of lieutenant colonel Rigely, of the British militia. This was fortified by a block house, and encompassed by an abbatis, and was defended by upwards of one hundred of the inhabitants, who had submitted to the British government. Lieutenant colonel Washington advanced with his cavalry, and planted the trunk of a pine tree, so as to resemble a field piece. The lucky moment was siezed and a peremptory

demand of an immediate surrender was made, when the garrison was impressed with the expectation of an immediate cannonade in case of their refusal. The whole surrendered at discretion, without a shot on either side. This fortunate incident, through the superstition to which most men are more or less subject, was viewed by the army as a presage of success under their new commander.

When general Greene took the command, he found the troops had made a practice of going home without permission, staying several days or weeks, and then returning to camp. Determined to enforce strict discipline, he gave out that he would make an example of the first deserter of the kind he caught. One such being soon taken, was accordingly shot, at the head of the army, drawn up to be spectators of the punishment. This had the desired effect, and put a stop to the dangerous practice.

The whole southern army at this time consisted of about 2000 men, more than half of which were militia. The regulars had been for a long time without pay, and were very deficient in cloathing. All sources of supply from Charleston were in possession of the British, and no imported article could be obtained from a distance less than 200 miles. The procuring of provisions for this small force was a matter of difficulty. The paper currency was depreciated so far, as to be wholly unequal to the purchase of even such supplies as the country afforded. Hard money had not a physical existence in any hands accessible to the Americans. The only resource left for supplying the army was by the arbitrary mode of impress. To seize on the property of the inhabitants, and at the same time to preserve their kind affections, was a difficult business and of delicate execution, but of

the utmost moment, as it furnished the army with provisions without impairing the disposition of the inhabitants to cooperate with it in recovering the country. This grand object called for the united efforts of both. Such was the situation of the country, that it was almost equally dangerous for the American army to go forward or stand still. In the first case every thing was hazarded; in the last the confidence of the people would be lost, and with it all prospect of being supported by them. The impatience of the suffering exiles and others, led them to urge the adoption of rash measures. The mode of opposition they preferred was the least likely to effect their ultimate wishes. The nature of the country, thinly inhabited, abounding with swamps, and covered with woods—the inconsiderable force of the American army, the number of the disaffected, and the want of magazines, weighed with general Greene to prefer a partizan war. By close application to his new profession, he had acquired a scientific knowledge of the principles and maxims for conducting wars in Europe, but considered them as often inapplicable to America. When they were adapted to his circumstances he used them, but oftener deviated from them, and followed his own practical judgment founded on a comprehensive view of his real situation.

With an inconsiderable army, miserably provided, general Greene took the field against a superior British regular force, which had marched in triumph 200 miles from the sea coast, and was flushed with successive victories through a whole campaign. Soon after he took the command, he divided his force, and sent general Morgan, with a respectable detachment, to the western extremity of South-Carolina, and about the same time marched with the main body to Hick's

creek, on the north side of the Pedee, opposite to Cheraw-Hill.

After the general submission of the militia in the year 1780, a revolution took place highly favourable to the interest of America. The residence of the British army, instead of increasing the real friends of royal government, diminished their number, and added new vigour to the opposite party. The British had a post in Ninety-Six for thirteen months, during which time the country was filled with rapine, violence and murder. Applications were daily made for redress, yet in that whole period, there was not a single instance wherein punishment was inflicted, either on the soldiery or the tories. The people soon found that there was no security for their lives, liberties or property, under the military government of British officers, careless of their civil rights. The peaceable citizens were reduced to that uncommon distress, in which they had more to fear from oppression than resistance. They therefore most ardently wished for an American force. Under these favourable circumstances, general Greene detached general Morgan, to take a position in that district. The appearance of this force, a sincere attachment to the cause of independence, and the impolitic conduct of the British, induced several persons to resume their arms, and to act in concert with the continental troops.

When this irruption was made into the district of Ninety-Six, lord Cornwallis was far advanced in his preparations for the invasion of North-Carolina. To leave general Morgan in his rear, was contrary to military policy. In order therefore to drive him from this station, and to deter the inhabitants from joining him, lieutenant colonel Tarleton was ordered to proceed with about 1100 men, and "push him to the utmost." He

had two field pieces, and a superiority of infantry in the proportion of five to four, and of cavalry in the proportion of three to one. Besides this inequality of force, two thirds of the troops under general Morgan were militia. With these fair prospects of success, <sup>Jan. 17,</sup> <sup>1781</sup> Tarleton engaged Morgan at the Cowpens, with the expectation of driving him out of South-Carolina. The latter drew up his men in two lines. The whole of the southern militia, with 190 from North-Carolina, were put under the command of colonel Pickens. These formed the first line, and were advanced a few hundred yards before the second, with orders to form on the right of the second, when forced to retire. The second line consisted of the light infantry, and a corps of Virginia militia riflemen. Lieutenant colonel Washington, with his cavalry and about 45 militia men, mounted and equipped with swords, were drawn up at some distance in the rear of the whole. The open wood in which they were formed, was neither secured in front, flank or rear. On the side of the British, the light legion infantry and fusileers, though worn down with extreme fatigue, were ordered to form in line. Before this order was executed, the line, though far from being complete, was led to the attack by Tarleton himself. They advanced with a shout and poured in an incessant fire of musketry. Colonel Pickens directed the men under his command to restrain their fire, till the British were within forty or fifty yards. This order, though executed with great firmness, was not sufficient to repel their advancing foes. The militia fell back. The British advanced and engaged the second line, which after an obstinate conflict was compelled to retreat to the cavalry. In this crisis lieutenant colonel Washington made a successful charge on captain Ogilvie, who with about

forty dragoons was cutting down the militia, and forced them to retreat in confusion. Lieutenant colonel Howard, almost at the same moment, rallied the continental troops and charged with fixed bayonets. The example was instantly followed by the militia. Nothing could exceed the astonishment and confusion of the British occasioned by these unexpected charges. Their advance fell back on their rear, and communicated a panic to the whole. Two hundred and fifty horse which had not been engaged, fled with precipitation. The pieces of artillery were seized by the Americans, and the greatest confusion took place among the infantry. While they were in this state of disorder, lieutenant-colonel Howard called to them, to "lay down their arms," and promised them good quarter. Some hundreds accepted the offer and surrendered. The first battalion of the 71st, and two British light infantry companies, laid down their arms to the American militia. A party which had been left some distance in the rear to guard the baggage, was the only body of infantry that escaped. The officer of that detachment, on hearing of Tarleton's defeat, destroyed a great part of the baggage, and retreated to lord Cornwallis. Upwards of 300 of the British were killed or wounded, and above 500 prisoners were taken. Eight hundred muskets, two field pieces, 35 baggage waggons, and 100 dragoon horses, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Americans had only 12 men killed, and 60 wounded.

General Morgan's good conduct on this memorable day, was honoured by congress with a gold medal. They also presented medals of silver to lieutenant colonels Washington and Howard, a sword to colonel Pickens, a brevet majority to Edward Giles, the general's aid de camp, and a captaincy to baron Glassbeck. Lieu-



tenant colonel Tarleton, hitherto triumphant in a variety of skirmishes, on this occasion lost his laurels, though he was supported by the 7th regiment, one battalion of the 71st, and two companies of light infantry; and his repulse did more essential injury to the British interest, than was equivalent to all the preceding advantages he had gained. It was the first link in a chain of causes which finally drew down ruin, both in North and South-Carolina, on the royal interest. That impetuosity of Tarleton, which had acquired him great reputation, when on former occasions he had surprized an incautious enemy, or attacked a panic struck militia, was at this time the occasion of his ruin. Impatient of delay, he engaged with fatigued troops, and led them on to action, before they were properly formed, and before the reserve had taken its ground. He was also guilty of a great oversight in not bringing up a column of cavalry to support and improve the advantages he had gained when the Americans retreated.

Lord Cornwallis, though preparing to extend his conquests northwardly, was not inattentive to the security of South-Carolina. Besides the force at Charleston, he left a considerable body of troops under the command of lord Rawdon. These were principally stationed at Camden, from which central situation they might easily be drawn forth to defend the frontiers or to suppress insurrections. To facilitate the intended operations against North-Carolina, major Craig, with a detachment of about 300 men from Charleston, and a small marine force, took possession of Wilmington. While these arrangements were making, the year 1781 commenced with the fairest prospects to the friends of British government. The arrival of general Leslie in Charleston, with his late command in Virginia, gave earl Cornwal-

lis a decided superiority, and enabled him to attempt the reduction of North-Carolina, with a force sufficient to bear down all probable opposition. Arnold was before him in Virginia, while South-Carolina in his rear was considered as completely subdued. His lordship had much to hope and little to fear. His admirers flattered him with the expectation, that his victory at Camden would prove but the dawn of his glory; and that the events of the approaching campaign would immortalize his name as the conqueror, at least of the southern states. Whilst lord Cornwallis was indulging these pleasing prospects, he received intelligence, no less unwelcome than unexpected, that Tarleton, his favourite officer, in whom he placed the greatest confidence, instead of driving Morgan out of the country, was completely defeated by him. This surprized and mortified, but did not discourage his lordship. He hoped by vigorous exertions soon to obtain reparation for the late disastrous event, and even to recover what he had lost. With the expectation of retaking the prisoners captured at the Cowpens, and to obliterate the impression made by the issue of the late action at that place, his lordship instantly determined on the pursuit of general Morgan, who had moved off towards Virginia with his prisoners. The movements of the royal army in consequence of this determination, induced general Greene immediately to retreat from Hick's creek, lest the British, by crossing the upper sources of the Pedee, should get between him and the detachment which was incumbered with the prisoners. In this critical situation, general Greene left the main army, under the command of general Huger, and rode 150 miles, through the country, to join the detachment under general Morgan, that he might be in front of lord Cornwallis, and direct the mo-

tions of both divisions of his army, so as to form a speedy junction between them. Immediately after the action, on the 17th of January, Morgan sent on his prisoners under a proper guard, and having made every arrangement in his power for their security, retreated with expedition. Nevertheless the British gained ground upon him. Morgan intended to cross the mountains with his detachment and prisoners, that he might more effectually secure the latter: but Greene, on his arrival ordered the prisoners to Charlotteville, and directed the troops to Guilford court-house, to which place he had also ordered general Huger, to proceed with the main army.

In this retreat the Americans underwent hardships almost incredible. Many of them performed this march without shoes over frozen ground, which so gashed their naked feet, that their blood marked every step of their progress. They were sometimes without meat, often without flour, and always without spiritous liquors. Their march led them through a barren country, which scarcely afforded necessaries for a few straggling inhabitants. In this severe season also, with very little clothing, they were daily reduced to the necessity of fording deep creeks, and of remaining wet without any change of clothes, till the heat of their bodies and occasional fires in the woods dried their tattered rags. To all these difficulties they submitted without the loss of a single centinel by desertion. Lord Cornwallis reduced the quantity of his own baggage, and the example was followed by the officers under his command. Every thing which was not necessary in action, or to the existence of the troops, was destroyed. No wag-gons were reserved except those loaded with hospital stores, salt and ammunition, and four empty ones for

the use of the sick. The royal army encouraged by the example of his lordship, submitted to every hardship with cheerfulness. They beheld without murmuring, their most valuable baggage destroyed, their spiritous liquors staved, when they were entering on hard service, and under circumstances which precluded every prospect of supply.

The British had urged the pursuit with so much rapidity, that they reached the Catawba on the evening of the same day on which their fleeing adversaries had crossed it. Before the next morning a heavy fall of rain made that river impassable. The Americans, confident of the justice of their cause, considered this event as an interposition of providence in their favour. It is certain that if the rising of the river had taken place a few hours earlier, general Morgan, with his whole detachment, and 500 prisoners, would have scarcely had any chance of escape. When the fresh had subsided so far as to leave the river fordable, a large proportion of the king's troops received orders to be in readiness to march at one o'clock in the morning. Feints had been made of passing at several different fords, but the real attempt was made at a ford near M<sup>c</sup>Cowans, the Feb. 1 north banks of which were defended by a small guard of militia, commanded by general Davidson. The British marched through the river, upwards of 500 yards wide and about three feet deep, sustaining a constant fire from the militia on the opposite bank, without returning it till they had made good their passage. The light infantry and grenadier companies, as soon as they reached the land, dispersed the Americans; general Davidson, the brave leader of the latter, was killed at the first onset. The militia throughout the neighbouring settlements were dispirited, and but few of them could be

persuaded to take or keep the field. A small party which had collected about ten miles from the ford, was attacked and dispersed by lieutenant colonel Tarleton. All the fords were abandoned, and the whole royal army crossed over without any farther opposition. The passage of the Catawba being effected, the Americans continued to flee and the British to pursue. The former by expeditious movements crossed the Yadkin, partly in flats, and partly by fording, on the second and third days of February, and secured their boats on the north side. Though the British were close in their rear, yet the want of boats and the rapid rising of the river, from preceding rains, made their crossing impossible. This second hair breadth escape was considered by the Americans as a farther evidence that their cause was favoured by Heaven. That they in two successive instances should effect their passage, while their pursuers, only a few miles in their rear, could not follow, impressed the religious people of that settlement with such sentiments of devotion, as added fresh vigour to their exertions in behalf of American independence.

The British having failed in their first scheme of passing the Yadkin, were obliged to cross at the upper fords; but before this was completed, the two divisions of the American army made a junction at Guild-  
Feb. 7. ford court-house. Though this had taken place, their combined numbers were so much inferior to the British, that general Greene could not with any propriety risque an action. He therefore called a council of officers, who unanimously concurred in opinion that he ought to retire over the Dan, and to avoid an engagement till he was reinforced. Lord Cornwallis, knowing the inferiority of the American force, conceived hopes,

by getting between general Greene and Virginia, to cut off his retreat, intercept his supplies and reinforcements, and oblige him to fight under many disadvantages. With this view, his lordship kept the upper country, where only the rivers are fordable—supposing that his adversaries, from the want of a sufficient number of flats, could not make good their passage in the deep water below, or in case of their attempting it, he expected to overtake and force them to action before they could cross. In this expectation he was deceived. General Greene, by good management, eluded his lordship. The British urged their pursuit with so much rapidity, that the American light troops were on the 14th Feb. compelled to retire upwards of 40 miles. By the most indefatigable exertions, general Greene had that day transported his army, artillery and baggage, over the river Dan into Virginia. So rapid was the pursuit, and so narrow the escape, that the van of the pursuing British just arrived as the rear of the Americans had crossed. The hardships and difficulties, which the royal army had undergone in this march, were exceeded by the mortification, that all their toils and exertions were to no purpose. They conceived it next to impossible that general Greene could escape, without receiving a decisive blow. They therefore cheerfully submitted to difficulties, of which they who reside in cultivated countries can form no adequate ideas. After surmounting incredible hardships, when they fancied themselves within grasp of their object, they discovered that all their hopes were blasted.

The continental army being driven out of North-Carolina, earl Cornwallis thought the opportunity favourable for assembling the loyalists. With this view he left the Dan, and proceeded to Hillsborough. On his arrival

there, he erected the king's standard, and published a proclamation, inviting all loyal subjects to repair to it with their arms and ten days provision, and assuring them of his readiness to concur with them in effectual measures for suppressing the remains of rebellion, and for the reestablishment of good order and constitutional government. Soon after the king's standard was erected at Hillsborough, some hundreds of the inhabitants rode into the British camp. They seemed to be very desirous of peace, but averse to any cooperation for procuring it. They acknowledged the continentals were chased out of the province, but expressed their apprehensions that they would soon return, and on the whole declined to take any decided part in the cause which yet appeared dangerous. Notwithstanding the indifference or timidity of the loyalists near Hillsborough, lord Cornwallis hoped for substantial aid from the inhabitants between Haw and Deep River. He therefore detached lieutenant colonel Tarleton with 450 men, to give countenance to the friends of royal government in that district. Greene being informed that many of the inhabitants had joined his lordship, and that they were repairing in great numbers to make their submission, was apprehensive, that unless some spirited measure was immediately taken, the whole country would be lost to the Americans. He therefore concluded, at every hazard, to recross the Dan. This was done by the light troops, and these on the next day were followed by the main body, accompanied with a brigade of Virginia militia. Immediately after the return of the Americans to North-Carolina, some of their light troops, commanded by general Pickens and lieutenant colonel Lee, were detached in pursuit of Tarleton, who had been sent to encourage the insurrection of

Feb. 21.

the loyalists. Three hundred and fifty of these tories, commanded by colonel Pyle, when on their way to join the British, fell in with this light American party, and mistook them for the royal detachment sent for their support. The Americans attacked them, labouring under this mistake, to great advantage, and cut them down as they were crying out "God save the king," and making protestations of their loyalty. Natives of the British colonies who were of this character, more rarely found mercy than European soldiers. They were considered by the whig Americans as being cowards, who not only wanted spirit to defend their constitutional rights, but who unnaturally cooperated with strangers in fixing the chains of foreign domination on themselves and countrymen. Many of them on this occasion suffered the extremity of military vengeance. Tarleton was refreshing his legion about a mile from this scene of slaughter. Upon hearing the alarm, he recrossed the Haw and returned to Hillsborough. On his retreat he cut down several of the royalists, as they were advancing to join the British army, mistaking them for the rebel militia of the country. These events, together with the return of the American army, upset all the schemes of lord Cornwallis. The tide of public sentiment was no longer in his favour. The recruiting service in behalf of the royal army was entirely stopped. The absence of the American army, for one fortnight longer, might have turned the scale. The advocates for royal government being discouraged by these adverse accidents, and being also generally deficient in that ardent zeal which characterized the patriots, could not be induced to act with confidence. They were so dispersed over a large extent of a thinly settled country, that it was difficult to bring them to unite in any common plan.



They had no superintending congress to give system or concert to their schemes. While each little district pursued separate measures, all were obliged to submit to the American governments. Numbers of them, who were on their way to join lord Cornwallis, struck with terror at the unexpected return of the American army, and with the unhappy fate of their brethren, went home to wait events. Their policy was of that timid kind, which disposed them to be more attentive to personal safety, than to the success of either army.

Though general Greene had recrossed, his plan was not to venture upon an immediate action, but to keep alive the courage of his party—to depress that of the loyalists, and to harass the foragers and detachments of the British, till reinforcements should arrive. While Greene was unequal even to defensive operations, he lay seven days within ten miles of Cornwallis' camp, but took a new position every night, and kept it a profound secret where the next was to be. By such frequent movements, lord Cornwallis could not gain intelligence of his situation in time to profit by it. He manœuvred in this manner, to avoid an action, for three weeks, during which time he was often obliged to ask bread from the common soldiers, having none of his own. By the end of that period, two brigades of militia from North-Carolina, and one from Virginia, together with 400 regulars, raised for eighteen months, joined his army, and gave him a superiority of numbers. He therefore determined no longer to avoid an engagement. Lord Cornwallis having long sought for this, no longer delay took place on either side. The American army consisted of about 4400 men, of which more than one half were militia. The British of about 2400, chiefly troops grown veteran in victories. The former was

Mar. 15,

1781.

drawn up in three lines. The front composed of North-Carolina militia, the second of Virginia militia, the third and last of continental troops, commanded by general Huger and colonel Williams. After a brisk cannonade in front, the British advanced in three columns. The Hessians on the right, the guards in the centre, and lieutenant colonel Webster's brigade on the left, and attacked the front line. This gave way when their adversaries were at the distance of 140 yards, and was occasioned by the misconduct of a colonel, who on the advance of the enemy, called out to an officer at some distance "that he would be surrounded." The alarm was sufficient: without enquiring into the probability of what had been injudiciously suggested, the militia precipitately quitted the field: as one good officer may sometimes mend the face of affairs, so the misconduct of a bad one may injure a whole army. Untrained men when on the field are similar to each other. The difference of their conduct depends much on incidental circumstances, and on none more than the manner of their being led on, and the quality of the officers by whom they are commanded.

The Virginia militia stood their ground, and kept up their fire till they were ordered to retreat. General Stevens, their commander, had posted 40 riflemen at equal distances, twenty paces in the rear of his brigade, with orders to shoot every man who should leave his post. That brave officer, though wounded through the thigh, did not quit the field. The continental troops were last engaged, and maintained the conflict with great spirit for an hour and a half. At length the discipline of veteran troops gained the day. They broke the second Maryland brigade, turned the American left flank, and got in the rear of the Virginia brigade. They appeared to

be gaining Greene's right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops, a retreat was therefore ordered. This was made in good order, and no farther than over the Reedy fork, a distance of about three miles. Greene halted there and drew up till he had collected most of the stragglers, and then retired to Speedwell's iron works, ten miles distant from Guilford. The Americans lost 4 pieces of artillery and two ammunition waggons. The victory cost the British dear. Their killed and wounded amounted to several hundreds. The guards lost colonel Stuart and three captains, besides subalterns. Colonel Webster, an officer of distinguished merit, died of his wounds, to the great regret of the whole royal army. Generals O'Hara and Howard, and lieutenant colonel Tarleton, were wounded. About 300 of the continentals, and 100 of the Virginia militia, were killed or wounded. Among the former was major Anderson, of the Maryland line, a most valuable officer, of the latter were generals Huger and Stevens. The early retreat of the North-Carolinians saved them from much loss. The American army sustained a great diminution, by the numerous fugitives who instead of rejoining the camp went to their homes. Lord Cornwallis suffered so much that he was in no condition to improve the advantages he had gained. The British had only the name, the Americans, all the good consequences of a victory. General Greene retreated, and lord Cornwallis kept the field, but notwithstanding the British interest in North-Carolina

Mar. 18. was from that day ruined. Soon after this action, lord Cornwallis issued a proclamation setting forth his complete victory, and calling on all loyal subjects to stand forth, and take an active part in restoring order and good government, and offering a pardon and pro-

tection to all rebels, murderers excepted, who would surrender themselves on or before the 20th of April. On the next day after this proclamation was issued, his lordship left his hospital and 75 wounded men, with numerous loyalists in the vicinity, and began to march towards Wilmington, which had the appearance of a retreat. Major Craig, who for the purpose of cooperating with his lordship, had been stationed at Wilmington, was not able to open a water communication with the British army while they were in the upper country. The distance, the narrowness of Cape-Fear river, the commanding elevation of its banks, and the hostile sentiments of the inhabitants on each side of it, forbade the attempt. The destitute condition of the British army, made it necessary to go to these supplies, which for these reasons could not be brought to them.

General Greene no sooner received information of this movement of lord Cornwallis, than he put his army in motion to follow him. As he had no means of providing for the wounded, of his own and the British forces, he wrote a letter to the neighbouring inhabitants of the quaker persuasion, in which he mentioned his being brought up a quaker, and urged them to take care of the wounded on both sides. His recommendations prevailed, and the quakers supplied the hospitals with every comfort in their power.

The Americans continued the pursuit of Cornwallis till they had arrived at Ramsay's mill on Deep river, but for good reasons desisted from following him any farther. Mar. 28.

Lord Cornwallis halted and refreshed his army for about three weeks at Wilmington, and then marched across the country to Petersburg in Virginia. Before it was known that his lordship had determined on this

movement, the bold resolution of returning to South-Carolina, was formed by general Greene. This animated the friends of congress in that quarter. Had the American army followed his lordship, the southern states would have conceived themselves conquered; for their hopes and fears prevailed just as the armies marched north or south. Though lord Cornwallis marched through North-Carolina to Virginia, yet as the American army returned to South-Carolina, the people considered that movement of his lordship in the light of a retreat.

While the two armies were in North-Carolina, the whig inhabitants of South-Carolina were animated by the gallant exertions of Sumter and Marion. These distinguished partizans, while surrounded with enemies, kept the field. Though the continental army was driven into Virginia, they did not despair of the commonwealth. Having mounted their followers, their motions were rapid, and their attacks unexpected. With their light troops they intercepted the British convoys of provisions, infested their out posts, beat up their quarters, and harassed their detachments with such frequent alarms, that they were obliged to be always on their guard. In the western extremity of the state, Sumter was powerfully supported by colonels Neil, Lacey, Hill, Winn, Bratton, Brandon, and others, each of whom held militia commissions, and had many friends. In the north-eastern extremity, Marion received in like manner great assistance from the active exertions of colonels Peter Horry, and Hugh Horry, lieutenant colonel John Baxter, colonel James Postell, major John Postell, and major John James.

The inhabitants, either as affection or vicinity induced them, arranged themselves under some of the militia of-

ficers and performed many gallant enterprizes. These singly were of too little consequence to merit a particular relation, but in general they displayed the determined spirit of the people and embarrassed the British. One in which major John Postell commanded may serve as an illustration of the spirit of the times, and particularly of the indifference for property which then prevailed. Captain James de Peyster of the royal army, with 25 grenadiers, having taken post in the house of the major's father, the major posted his small command of 21 militia men, in such positions as commanded its doors, and demanded their surrender. This being refused, he set fire to an out-house and was proceeding to burn that in which they were posted, and nothing but the immediate submission of the whole party restrained him from sacrificing his father's valuable property, to gain an advantage to his country.

While lord Cornwallis was preparing to invade Virginia, general Greene determined to recommence offensive military operations in the southern extreme of the confederacy, in preference to pursuing his lordship into Virginia. General Sumter, who had warmly urged this measure, was about this time authorized to raise a state brigade, to be in service for eighteen months. He had also prepared the militia to cooperate with the returning continentals. With these forces an offensive war was recommenced in South-Carolina, and prosecuted with spirit and success.

Before Greene set out on his march for Carolina, he sent orders to general Pickens, to prevent supplies from going to the British garrisons at Ninety-Six, and Augusta, and also detached lieutenant colonel Lee to advance before the continental troops. The latter in eight days penetrated through the intermediate country to

general Marion's quarters upon the Santee. The main army, in a few more days, completed their march from Deep river to Camden. The British had erected a chain of posts from the capital to the extreme districts of the state, which had regular communications with each other. Lord Cornwallis being gone to Virginia, these became objects of enterprize to the Americans. While general Greene was marching with his main force against Camden, fort Watson, which lay between Camden and Charleston, was invested by general Marion and lieutenant colonel Lee. The besiegers speedily erected a work which overlooked the fort, though that was built on an Indian mount upwards of 30 feet high, from which they fired into it with such execution that the  
Apr. 23. besieged durst not shew themselves. Under these circumstances the garrison, consisting of 114 men, surrendered by capitulation.

Camden, before which the main American army was encamped, is a village situated on a plain, covered on the south and east sides by the Wateree and a creek, the western and northern by six redoubts. It was defended by lord Rawdon with about 900 men. The American army, consisting only of about an equal number of continentals, and between two and three hundred militia, was unequal to the task of carrying this post by storm, or of completely investing it. General Greene therefore took a good position about a mile distant, in expectation of alluring the garrison out of their lines. Lord Rawdon armed his whole force, and with great spirit sallied on the 25th. An engagement ensued. Victory for some time evidently inclined to the Americans, but in the progress of the action, the premature retreat of two companies, eventually occasioned the defeat of the whole American army. Greene with his usual firmness, instantly took measures to prevent lord Rawdon from improving the success he

had obtained. He retreated with such order that most of his wounded and all his artillery, together with a number of prisoners were carried off. The British retired to Camden, and the Americans encamped about five miles from their former position. Their loss was between two and three hundred. Soon after this action General Greene, knowing that the British garrison could not subsist long in Camden, without fresh supplies from Charleston or the country, took such positions as were most likely to prevent their getting any.

Lord Rawdon received a reinforcement of 4 or 500 men by the arrival of colonel Watson from Pedee.

With this increase of strength, he attempted on May 7. the next day to compel general Greene to another action, but found it to be impracticable. Failing in this design, he returned to Camden and burned the jail, mills, and many private houses, and a great deal of his own baggage. He then evacuated the post, and retired to the southward of Santee. His lordship discovered as much prudence in evacuating Camden, as he had shewn bravery in its defence. The fall of Fort Watson broke the chain of communication with Charleston, and the position of the American army, in a great measure intercepted supplies from the adjacent country. The British in South-Carolina, now cut off from all communication with lord Cornwallis, would have hazarded the capital, by keeping large detachments in their distant out posts. They therefore resolved to contract their limits, by retiring within the Santee. This measure animated the friends of congress in the extremities of the state, and disposed them to cooperate with the American army. While Greene lay in the neighbourhood of Camden, he hung in one day eight soldiers, who had deserted from his army. This had such effect afterwards that there



was no desertion for three months. On the day after the evacuation of Camden, the post at Orangeburgh, May 11. consisting of seventy British militia and twelve  
12. regulars, surrendered to general Sumter. On the next day, Fort Motte capitulated. This was situated above the fork on the south side of the Congaree. The British had built their works round Mrs. Motte's dwelling house. She with great cheerfulness furnished the Americans with materials for firing her own house. These being thrown by them on its roof soon kindled into a flame. The firing of the house, which was in the centre of the British works, compelled the garrison, consisting of 165 men, to surrender at discretion.

In two days more the British evacuated their May 14. post at Nelson's ferry, and destroyed a great part  
15. of their stores. On the day following, fort Granby, garrisoned by 352 men, mostly royal militia, surrendered to lieutenant colonel Lee. Very advantageous terms were given them, from an apprehension that lord Rawdon was marching to their relief.

Their baggage was secured, in which was included an immense quantity of plunder. The American militia were much disgusted at the terms allowed the garrison, and discovered a disposition to break the capitulation and kill the prisoners; but Greene restrained them, by declaring in the most peremptory manner, that he would instantly put to death any one who should offer violence to those, who, by surrendering, were under his protection.

General Marion with a party of militia, marched about this time to Georgetown, and began regular approaches against the British post in that place. On the first night after his men had broken ground, their adversaries evacuated their works, and retreated to Charleston; shortly after, one Manson, an inhabitant of South-Caro-

lina, who had joined the British, appeared in an armed vessel, and demanded permission to land his men in the town. This being refused, he sent a few of them ashore and set fire to it. Upwards of forty houses were speedily reduced to ashes.

In the rapid manner just related, the British lost six posts, and abandoned all the north-eastern extremities of South-Carolina. They still retained possession of Augusta and Ninety-Six, in addition to their posts near the sea coast. Immediately after the surrender of fort Granby, lieutenant colonel Lee began his march for Augusta, and in four days completed it.

The British post at Silver-Bluff, with a field piece and considerable stores, surrendered to a May 21. detachment of Lee's legion commanded by captain Rudolph. Lee on his arrival at Augusta joined Pickens, who with a body of militia had for some time past taken post in the vicinity. They jointly carried on their approaches against fort Cornwallis at Augusta, in which colonel Brown commanded. Two batteries were erected within 30 yards of the parapet, which overlooked the fort. From these eminences the American riflemen shot into the inside of the works with success: the garrison buried themselves in a great measure under-ground, and obstinately refused to capitulate, till the necessity was so pressing that every man who attempted to fire on the besiegers, was immediately shot down. At length June 5. when farther resistance would have been madness, the fort with about 300 men surrendered, on honourable terms of capitulation. The Americans during the siege had about forty men killed and wounded. After the surrender, lieutenant colonel Grierson of the British militia, was shot by the Americans. A reward of 100 guineas was offered, but in vain, for the perpetrator of

the perfidious deed. Lieut. col. Brown, would probably have shared the same fate, had not his conquerors furnished him with an escort to the royal garrison in Savannah. Individuals whose passions were inflamed by injuries, and exasperated with personal animosity, were eager to gratify revenge in violation of the laws of war. Murders had produced murders. Plundering, assassinations, and house burnings, had become common. Zeal for the king or the congress were the ostensible motives of action; but in several of both sides, the love of plunder, private pique, and a savageness of disposition, led to actions which were disgraceful to human nature. Such was the state of parties in the vicinity of Savannah river, and such the exasperation of whigs against tories, and of tories against whigs; and so much had they suffered from and inflicted on each other, that the laws of war, and the precepts of humanity, afforded but a feeble security for the observance of capitulations on either side. The American officers exerted themselves to procure to their prisoners that safety which many of the inhabitants, influenced by a remembrance of the sufferings of themselves, and of their friends, were unwilling to allow them.

While operations were carrying on against the small posts, Greene proceeded with his main army, and laid siege to Ninety-Six, in which lieutenant colonel Cruger, with upwards of 500 men, was advantageously posted. On the left of the besiegers, was a work erected in the form of a star. On the right was a strong stockade fort, with two block houses in it. The town was also picquetted in with strong picquets, and surrounded with a ditch and a bank, near the height of a common parapet. The besiegers were more numerous than the besieged, but the disparity was not great.

The siege was prosecuted with indefatigable industry. The garrison defended themselves May 25. with spirit and address. On the morning after the siege began, a party sallied from the garrison, and drove the advance of the besiegers from their works. The next night, two strong block batteries were erected at the distance of 350 yards. Another battery, 20 feet high, was erected within 220 yards, and soon after, a fourth one was erected within 100 yards of the main fort; and lastly, a rifle battery was erected 30 feet high, within 80 yards of the ditch; from all of which, the besiegers fired into the British works. The abatis was turned, and a mine and two trenches were so far extended, as to be within six feet of the ditch. At that interesting moment, intelligence was conveyed into the garrison, that lord Rawdon was near at hand, with about 2000 men for their relief. These had arrived in Charleston from Ireland after the siege began, and were marched for Ninety-Six, on the seventh day after they landed. In these circumstances, general June 18. Greene had no other alternative but to raise the siege, or attempt the reduction of the place by assault. The latter was attempted. Though the assailants displayed great resolution, they failed of success. On this, general Greene raised the siege, and retreated over Saluda. His loss in the assault and previous conflicts was about 150 men. Lieutenant colonel Cruger deservedly gained great reputation by this successful defence. He was particularly indebted to major Greene, who had bravely and judiciously defended that redoubt, for the reduction of which, the greatest exertions had been made. Truly distressing was the situation of the American army. When they were nearly masters of the whole country, they were compelled to seek safety by retreating to its utmost extremity. In this gloomy situ-

ation, Greene was advised to retire with his remaining force to Virginia. To suggestions of this kind, he nobly replied, "I will recover South-Carolina, or die in the attempt." This distinguished officer, whose genius was most vigorous in those perilous extremities, when feeble minds abandon themselves to despair, adopted the only expedient now left him, that of avoiding an engagement till the British force should be divided. Lord Rawdon, who by rapid marches was near Ninety-Six at the time of the assault, pursued the Americans as far as the Enoree river; but without overtaking them. Desisting from this fruitless pursuit, he drew off a part of his force from Nine-Six, and fixed a detachment at the Congaree. General Greene, on hearing that the British force was divided, faced about to give them battle. Lord Rawdon, no less surprized than alarmed at this unexpected movement of his lately retreating foe, abandoned the Congaree in two days after he had reached it, and marched to Orangeburgh. General Greene in his turn pursued and  
July 12. offered him battle. His lordship would not venture out, and his adversary was too weak to attack him in his encampment, with any prospect of success.

Reasons similar to those which induced the British to evacuate Camden, weighed with them about this time, to withdraw their troops from Ninety-Six. While the American army lay near Orangeburgh, lieutenant colonel Cruger, having evacuated the post he had gallantly defended, was marching with the troops of that garrison, through the forks of Edisto, to join lord Rawdon at Orangeburgh. General Greene being unable to prevent their junction, and still less so to stand before their combined force, retired to the high hills of Santec. The evacuation of Camden being effected by striking at the posts below it, the same manœuvre was now attempted to in-

duce the British to leave Orangeburgh. With this view, generals Sumter and Marion, with their brigades, and the legion cavalry, were detached to Monk's corner and Dorchester. They moved down different roads, and commenced separate and successful attacks, on convoys and detachments in the vicinity of Charleston. In this manner was the war carried on. While the British kept their forces compact, they could not cover the country, and the American general had the prudence to avoid fighting. When they divided their army, their detachments were attacked and defeated. While they were in the upper country, light parties of Americans annoyed their small posts in the lower settlements. The people soon found that the late conquerors were not able to afford them their promised protection. The spirit of revolt became general, and the royal interest declined daily.

The British having evacuated all their posts to the northward of Santee and Congaree, and to the westward of Edisto, conceived themselves able to hold all that fertile country which is in a great measure enclosed by these rivers. They therefore once more resumed their station, near the junction of the of the Wateree and Congaree. This induced general Greene to concert farther measures for forcing them down towards Charleston. - He therefore crossed the Wateree and Congaree, and collected his whole force on the south side of the latter, intending to act offensively. On his approach the British retired about 40 miles nearer Charleston, and took post at the Eutaw springs. General Greene advanced with 2000 men, to attack them in their encampment at this place. His force was drawn up in two lines : the first was composed of militia, and the second of continental troops. As the Americans advanced, they fell in with two parties of the British, three or four miles ahead of their main army.

These being briskly attacked soon retired. The militia continued to pursue and fire, till the action became general, and till they were obliged to give way. They were well supported by the continental troops. In the hottest of the action colonel O. Williams, and lieutenant colonel Campbell, with the Maryland and Virginia continentals, charged with trailed arms. Nothing could surpass the intrepidity of both officers and men on this occasion. They rushed on in good order through a heavy cannonade and a shower of musketry, with such unshaken resolution, that they bore down all before them. Lieutenant colonel Campbell, while bravely leading his men on to that successful charge, received a mortal wound. After he had fallen, he enquired who gave way, and being informed that the British were fleeing in all quarters, he replied, "I die contented," and immediately expired. The British were vigorously pursued, and upwards of 500 of them were taken prisoners. On their retreat they took post in a strong brick house, and in a picquetted garden. From these advantageous positions they renewed the action. Four six pounders were ordered up before the house from under cover of which the British were firing. The Americans were compelled to leave these pieces and retire, but they left a strong picquet on the field of battle, and only retreated to the nearest water in their rear. In the evening of the next day, lieutenant colonel Stuart, who commanded the British on this occasion, left seventy of his wounded men and a thousand stand of arms, and moved from the Eutaws towards Charleston. The loss of the British, inclusive of prisoners, was upwards of 1100 men; that of the Americans above 500, in which number were sixty officers. Congress honoured general Greene for his good conduct in this action, with

a British standard and a golden medal. They also voted their thanks to the different corps and their commanders.

Soon after this engagement, the Americans retired to their former position on the high hills of Santee, and the British took post in the vicinity of Monk's-Corner. In the close of the year, general Greene moved down into the lower country, and about the same time the British abandoned their out-posts, and retired with their whole force to the Quarter house on Charleston-neck. The defence of the country was given up, and the conquerors, who had lately carried their arms to the extremities of the state, seldom aimed at any thing more than to secure themselves in the vicinity of the capital. The crops, which had been planted in the spring of the year under British auspices, and with the expectation of affording them supplies, fell into the hands of the Americans, and administered to them a seasonable relief. The battle of Eutaw may be considered as closing the national war in South-Carolina. A few excursions were afterwards made by the British, and sundry small enterprizes were executed, but nothing of more general consequence than the loss of property, and of individual lives. Thus ended the campaign of 1781, in South-Carolina. At its commencement the British were in force over all the state; at its close they durst not, but with great precaution, venture twenty miles from Charleston. History affords but few instances of commanders, who have achieved so much with equal means, as was done by general Greene in the short space of a twelve-month. He opened the campaign with gloomy prospects, but closed it with glory. His unpaid and half naked army had to contend with veteran soldiers, supplied with every thing that the wealth of Britain or the plun-



der of Carolina could procure. Under all these disadvantages, he compelled superior numbers to retire from the extremity of the state, and confine themselves in the capital and its vicinity. Had not his mind been of the firmest texture, he would have been discouraged; but his enemies found him as formidable on the evening of a defeat, as on the morning after a victory.

---

## CHAPTER XXIV.

*Campaign of 1781. Operations in Virginia: Cornwallis captured: New-London destroyed.*

IT has already been mentioned that lord Cornwallis, soon after the battle of Guildford, marched to Wilmington in North-Carolina. When he had completed that march, various plans of operation were presented to his view. It was said in favour of his proceeding southwardly, that the country between Wilmington and Camden was barren and of difficult passage—that an embarkation for Charleston would be both tedious and disgraceful—that a junction with the royal forces in Virginia, and the prosecution of solid operations in that quarter, would be the most effectual plan for effecting and securing the submission of the more southern states. Other arguments, of apparently equal force, urged his return to South-Carolina. Previous to his departure for Virginia, he had received information that general Greene had begun his march for Camden, and he had reason from past experience to fear that if he did not follow him, the inhabitants by a second revolt, would give the

American army a superiority over the small force left under lord Rawdon. Though his lordship was very apprehensive of danger from that quarter, he hoped either that lord Rawdon would be able to stand his ground, or that general Greene would follow the royal army to Virginia, or in the most unfavourable event he flattered himself, that by the conquest of Virginia, the recovery of South-Carolina would be at any time practicable. His lordship having too much pride to turn back, and preferring the extensive scale of operations which Virginia presented, to the narrow one of preserving past conquests, determined to leave Carolina to its fate. Before the end of April, he therefore proceeded on his march, from Wilmington towards <sup>April 25.</sup> Virginia. To favour the passage of the many rivers with which the country is intersected, two boats were mounted on carriages and taken along with his army. The king's troops proceeded several days without opposition, and almost without intelligence. The Americans made an attempt at Swift-creek, and afterwards at Fishing-creek to stop their progress, but without any effect. The British took the shortest road to Halifax, and on their arrival there, defeated several parties of the Americans and took some stores, with very little loss on their side. The Roanoke, Meherrin, and the Nottaway rivers, were successively crossed by the royal army, and with little or no opposition from the dispersed inhabitants. In less than a month the march from <sup>May 20.</sup> Wilmington to Petersburg was completed. The latter had been fixed upon as the place of rendezvous, in a private correspondence with general Phillips. By this combination of the royal force previously employed in Virginia, with the troops which had marched from Wilmington, lord Cornwallis was at the head

of a very powerful army. This junction was scarcely completed when lord Cornwallis received lord Rawdon's report of the advantage he had gained over general Greene, on the 25th of the preceding month. About the same time he received information that three British regiments had sailed from Cork for Charleston.

These two events eased his mind of all anxiety for South-Carolina, and inspired him with brilliant hopes of a glorious campaign. He considered himself as having already subdued both the Carolinas, and as being in a fair way to increase his military fame, by the addition of Virginia to the list of his conquests. By the late combination of the royal forces under Phillips and Cornwallis, and by the recent arrival of a reinforcement of 1500 men directly from New-York, Virginia became the principal theatre of operations for the remainder of the campaign. The formidable force, thus collected in one body, called for the vigorous exertions of the friends of independence. The defensive operations, in opposition to it, were principally entrusted to the marquis de la Fayette. Early in the year he had been detached from the main American army on an expedition, the object of which was a cooperation with the French fleet in capturing general Arnold. On the failure of this, the marquis marched back as far as the head of Elk. There he received an order to return to Virginia to oppose the British forces, which had become more formidable by the arrival of a considerable reinforcement, under general Phillips. He proceeded without delay to Richmond, and arrived there the day before the British reached Manchester, on the opposite side of James river. Thus was the capital of Virginia, at that time filled with almost all the military stores of

the state, saved from imminent danger. So great was the superiority of numbers on the side of the British, that the marquis had before him a labour of the greatest difficulty, and was pressed with many embarrassments. In the first moments of the rising tempest, and till he could provide against its utmost rage, he began to retire with his little army, which consisted only of about 1000 regulars, 2000 militia, and sixty dragoons.

Lord Cornwallis advanced from Petersburg to James river, which he crossed at Westown, and thence marched through Hanover county, crossed the South Anna, or Pamunkey river. The marquis followed his motions, but at a guarded distance. The superiority of the British army, especially of their cavalry, which they easily supplied with good horses from the stables and pastures of private gentlemen in Virginia, enabled them to traverse the country in all directions. Two distant expeditions were therefore undertaken. The one was to Charlottesville, with the view of capturing the governor and assembly of the state. The other to Point of Fork, to destroy stores. Lieutenant colonel Tarleton, to whom the first was committed, succeeded so far as to disperse the assembly, capture seven of its members, and to destroy a great quantity of stores at and near Charlottesville. The other expedition, which was committed to lieutenant colonel Simcoe, was only in part successful, for the Americans had previously removed the most of their stores from Point of Fork. In the course of these marches and countermarches, immense quantities of property were destroyed, and sundry unimportant skirmishes took place. The British made many partial conquests, but these were seldom of longer duration than their encampments. The young marquis, with

a degree of prudence that would have done honour to an old soldier, acted so cautiously on the defensive and made so judicious a choice of posts, and shewed so much vigour and design in his movements, as to prevent any advantage being taken of his weakness. In his circumstances, not to be destroyed, was triumph. He effected a junction at Racoon ford with general Wayne, who was at the head of 800 Pennsylvanians. While this junction was forming, the British got between the American army and its stores, which had been removed from Richmond to Albemarle old court-house. The possession of these was an object with both armies. The marquis by forced marches got within a few miles of the British army, when they were two days march from Albemarle old court-house. The British general considered himself as sure of his adversary, for he knew that the stores was his object; and he conceived it impracticable for the marquis to get between him and the stores; but by a road, in passing which he might be attacked to advantage. The marquis had the address to extricate himself from this difficulty, by opening in the night a nearer road to Albemarle old court-house, which had been long disused and was much embarrassed.

June 18. To the surprize of lord Cornwallis, the marquis fixed himself the next day between the British army and the American stores. Lord Cornwallis, finding his schemes frustrated, fell back to Richmond. About this time the marquis' army was reinforced by Steuben's troops, and by militia from the parts adjacent. He followed lord Cornwallis, and had the address to impress him with an idea that the American army was much greater than it really was. His lordship therefore retreated to Williamsburgh. The day after the  
June 26. main body of the British arrived there, their

rear was attacked by an American light corps under colonel Butler, and sustained a considerable loss.

About the time lord Cornwallis reached Williamsburg, he received intelligence from New-York, setting forth the danger to which the royal army in that city was exposed from a combined attack, that was said to be threatened by the French and Americans. Sir Henry Clinton therefore required a detachment from earl Cornwallis, if he was not engaged in any important enterprize, and recommended to him a healthy station, with an ample defensive force, till the danger of New-York was dispersed. Lord Cornwallis, thinking it expedient to comply with this requisition, and judging that his command afterwards would not be adequate to maintain his present position at Williamsburg, determined to retire to Portsmouth. For the execution of this project, it was necessary to cross James river. The marquis de la Fayette, conceiving this to be a favourable opportunity for acting offensively, advanced on the British. General Wayne, relying on the information of a countryman, that the main body of the British had crossed James river, pushed forwards with about 800 light troops to harass their rear. Contrary to his expectations, he found the whole British army drawn up ready to oppose him. He instantly conceived that the best mode of extricating himself from his perilous situation would be, to assume a bold countenance, and engage his adversaries before he attempted to retreat. He therefore pressed on for some time, and urged an attack with spirit before he fell back. Lord Cornwallis perhaps suspecting an ambuscade, did not pursue. By this bold manœuvre, Wayne got off with but little loss.

July 6.

In the course of these various movements, the British

were joined by few of the inhabitants, and scarcely by any of the natives. The Virginians for the most part either joined the Americans, or, what was much more common, kept out of the way of the British. To purchase safety by submission, was the policy of very few, and these were for the most part natives of Britain. After earl Cornwallis had crossed James river, he marched for Portsmouth. He had previously taken the necessary steps for complying with the requisition of sir Henry Clinton, to send a part of his command to New-York. But before they sailed, an express arrived from sir Henry Clinton with a letter, expressing his preference of Williamsburg to Portsmouth for the residence of the army, and his desire that Old Point-Comfort or Hampton roads should be secured as a station for line of battle ships. The commander in chief, at the same time, allowed his lordship to detain any part or the whole of the forces under his command, for completing this service. On examination, Hampton roads was not approved of as a station for the navy. It being a principal object of the campaign, to fix on a strong permanent post or place of arms in the Chesapeake for the security of both the army and navy, and Portsmouth and Hampton roads having both been pronounced unfit for that purpose, York-Town and Gloucester Points were considered as most likely to accord with the views of the royal commanders. Portsmouth was therefore evacuated, and its garrison transferred to York-Town. Lord Cornwallis availed himself of sir Henry Clinton's permission to retain the whole force under his command, and impressed with the necessity of establishing a strong place of arms in the Chesapeake, applied himself with industry to fortify his new posts, so as to render them tenable by his present army, amounting to 7000 men.

against any force that he supposed likely to be brought against them.

At this period the officers of the British navy expected that their fleet in the West-Indies would join them, and that solid operations in Virginia would in a short time recommence with increased vigour.

While they were indulging these hopes, count de Grasse with a French fleet of 28 sail of the line from the West-Indies, entered the Chesapeake, (*Aug. 30.*) and about the same time intelligence arrived, that the French and American armies, which had been lately stationed in the more northern states, were advancing towards Virginia. Count de Grasse, without loss of time, blocked up York river with three large ships and some frigates, and moored the principal part of his fleet in Lynhaven bay. Three thousand two hundred French troops, brought in this fleet from the West-Indies, commanded by the marquis de St. Simon, were disembarked, and soon after formed a junction with the continental troops under the marquis de la Fayette, and the whole took post at Williamsburg. An attack on this force was intended, but before all the arrangements subservient to its execution were fixed upon, letters of an early date in September were received by lord Cornwallis from sir Henry Clinton, announcing that he would do his utmost to reinforce the royal army in the Chesapeake, or make every diversion in his power, and that admiral Digby was hourly expected on the coast. On the receipt of this intelligence earl Cornwallis, not thinking himself justified in hazarding an engagement, abandoned the resolution of attacking the combined force of Fayette and St. Simon. It is the province of history to relate what has happened, and not to indulge conjectures in the boundless field of contingencies; otherwise it might



be added, that earl Cornwallis, by this change of opinion, lost a favourable opportunity of extricating himself from a combination of hostile force, which by farther concentration soon became irresistible. On the other hand if an attack had been made, and that had proved unsuccessful, he would have been charged with rashness in not waiting for the promised cooperation. On the same uncertain ground of conjecturing what ought to have been done, it might be said that the knowledge earl Cornwallis had of public affairs, would have justified him in abandoning York-Town, in order to return to South-Carolina. It seems as though this would have been his wisest plan; but either from an opinion that his instructions to stand his ground were positive, or that effectual relief was probable, his lordship thought proper to risque every thing on the issue of a siege. An attempt was made to burn or dislodge the French ships in the river, but none to evacuate his posts at this early period, when that measure was practicable.

Admiral Greaves, with 20 sail of the line, made an effort for the relief of lord Cornwallis, but without effecting his purpose. When he appeared off the Sept. 7. capes of Virginia, M. de Grasse went out to meet him, and an indecisive engagement took place. The British were willing to renew the action; but de Grasse for good reasons declined it. His chief object in coming out of the capes was to cover a French fleet of eight line of battle ships, which was expected from Rhode-Island. In conformity to a preconcerted plan, count de Barras, commander of this fleet, had sailed for the Chesapeake, about the time de Grasse sailed from the West-Indies for the same place. To avoid the British fleet, he had taken a circuit by Bermuda. For fear that the British fleet might intercept him on his approach to the capes of

Virginia, de Grasse came out to be at hand for his protection. While Greaves and de Grasse were manœuvring near the mouth of the Chesapeake, count de Barras passed the former in the night, and got within the capes of Virginia. This gave the fleet of his most christian majesty a decided superiority. Admiral Greaves soon took his departure; and M. de Grasse reentered the Chesapeake. All this time, conformably to the well digested plan of the campaign, the French and the American forces were marching through the middle states on their way to York-town. To understand in their proper connexion the great events shortly to be described, it is necessary to go back and trace the remote causes which brought on this grand combination of fleets and armies which put a period to the war.

The fall of Charleston in May 1780, and the complete rout of the American southern army in August following, together with the increasing inability of the Americans to carry on the war, gave a serious alarm to the friends of independence. In this low ebb of their affairs, a pathetic statement of their distresses was made to their illustrious ally the king of France. To give greater efficacy to their solicitations, congress appointed lieut. col. John Laurens their special minister, and directed him after repairing to the court of Versailles, to urge the necessity of speedy and effectual succour, and in particular to solicit for a loan of money, and the cooperation of a French fleet, in attempting some important enterprize against the common enemy. His great abilities as an officer, had been often displayed; but on this occasion, the superior talents of the statesman and negotiator were called forth into action. Animated as he was with the ardour of the warmest patriotism, and feeling most sensibly for the distresses of his country, his whole

soul was exerted to interest the court of France in giving a vigorous aid to their allies. His engaging manners and insinuating address, procured a favourable reception to his representations. He won the hearts of those who were at the helm of public affairs, and inflamed them with zeal to assist a country whose cause was so ably pleaded, and whose sufferings were so pathetically represented. At this crisis, his most christian majesty gave his American allies a subsidy of six millions of livres, and became their security for ten millions more borrowed for their use in the United Netherlands. A naval cooperation was promised, and a conjunct expedition against their common foes was projected.

The American war was now so far involved in the consequences of naval operations, that a superior French fleet, seemed to be the only hinge on which it was likely soon to take a favourable turn. The British army being parcelled in the different sea ports of the United States, any division of it blocked up by a French fleet, could not long resist the superior combined force, which might be brought to operate against it. The marquis de Castries who directed the marine of France, with great precision calculated the naval force, which the British could concentrate on the coast of the United States, and disposed his own in such a manner as ensured him a superiority. In conformity to these principles, and in subserviency to the designs of the campaign, M. de Grasse sailed in March 1781, from Brest, with 25 sail of the line, several thousand land forces, and a large convoy amounting to more than 200 ships. A small part of this force was destined for the East-Indies, but M. de Grasse with the greater part sailed for Martinique. The British fleet then in the West-Indies, had been previously weakened by the departure of a squadron for

the protection of the ships which were employed in carrying to England the booty which had been taken at St. Eustatius. The British admirals Hood and Drake, were detached to intercept the outward bound French fleet commanded by M. de Grasse, but a junction between his force and eight ships of the line and one of 50 guns, which were previously at Martinique and St. Domingo, was nevertheless effected. By this combination of fresh ships from Europe, with the French fleet previously in the West-Indies, they had a decided superiority. M. de Grasse having finished his business in the West-Indies, sailed in the beginning of August with a prodigious convoy. After seeing this out of danger, he directed his course for the Chesapeake, and arrived there as has been related on the thirteenth of the same month: Five days before his arrival in the Chesapeake, the French fleet in Rhode-Island sailed for the same place. These fleets, notwithstanding their original distance from the scene of action and from each other, coincided in their operations in an extraordinary manner, far beyond the reach of military calculation. They all tended to one object and at one and the same time, and that object was neither known nor suspected by the British, till the proper season for counteraction was elapsed. This coincidence of favourable circumstances, extended to the marches of the French and American land forces. The plan of operations had been so well digested, and was so faithfully executed by the different commanders, that general Washington and count Rochambeau had passed the British head quarters in New-York, and were considerably advanced in their way to York-town, before count de Grasse had reached the American coast. This was effected in the following manner. Monsieur de Barras, appointed to the command of the French

May 6. squadron at Newport, arrived at Boston with

despatches for count de Rochambeau. An interview soon after took place at Wethersfield, between general Washington, Knox, and du Portail, on the part of the Americans, and count de Rochambeau and the chevalier Chastelleux, on the the part of the French. At this interview, an eventual plan of the whole campaign was fixed. This was to lay siege to New-York in concert with a French fleet, which was to arrive on the coast in the month of August. It was agreed that the French troops should march towards the North-River. Letters were addressed by general Washington to the executive officers of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New-Jersey, requiring them to fill up their battalions, and to have their quotas, 6200 militia, in readiness, within a week of the time they might be called for. Conformably to these outlines of the campaign, the French troops marched from Rhode-Island in June, and early in the following month joined the American army. About the time this junction took place, general Washington marched his army from their winter encampment near Peekskill, to the vicinity of Kingsbridge. General Lincoln fell down the North-River with a detachment in boats, and took possession of the ground where fort Independence formerly stood. An attack was made upon him, but was soon discontinued. The British about this time, retired with almost the whole of their force to York-Island. General Washington hoped to be able to commence operations against New-York, about the middle, or at farthest the latter end of July. Flat bottomed boats sufficient to transport 5000 men, were built near Albany, and brought down Hudson's river to the neighbourhood of the American army before New-York. Ovens were erected opposite to Staten-Island, for the use of the French troops. Every movement was

made which was introductory to the commencement of the siege. It was not a little mortifying to general Washington, to find himself on the second of August to be only a few hundreds stronger than he was on the day his army first moved from their winter quarters. To have fixed on a plan of operations, with a foreign officer at the head of a respectable force: to have brought that force from a considerable distance, in confident expectation of reinforcements sufficiently large to commence effective operations against the common enemy, and at the same time to have engagements in behalf of the state, violated in direct opposition to their own interest, and in a manner derogatory to his own personal honour, was enough to have excited storms and tempests, in any mind less calm than that of general Washington. He bore this hard trial with his usual magnanimity, and contented himself with repeating his requisitions to the states, and at the same time urged them by every tie, to enable him to fulfil engagements entered into on their account, with the commander of the French troops.

That tardiness of the states, which at other times had brought them near the brink of ruin, was now the accidental cause of real service. Had they sent forward their recruits for the regular army, and their quotas of militia as was expected, the siege of New-York would have commenced in the latter end of July, or the beginning of August. While the season was wasting away in expectation of these reinforcements, lord Cornwallis, as has been mentioned, fixed himself near the capes of Virginia. His situation there, the arrival of a reinforcement of 3000 Germans from Europe to New-York, the superior strength of that garrison, the failure of the states in filling up their battalions and embodying their militia, and especially recent intelligence from count de Grasse,

that his destination was fixed to the Chesapeake, concurred about the middle of August, to make a total change of the plan of the campaign.

The appearance of an intention to attack New-York, was nevertheless kept up. While this deception was played off, the allied army crossed the North-River, and passed on by the way of Philadelphia, through the intermediate country to Yorktown. An attempt to reduce the British force in Virginia, promised success with more expedition, and to secure an object of nearly equal importance as the reduction of New-York. No one can undertake to say what would have been the consequence, if the allied forces had persevered in their original plan; but it is evident from the event, that no success could have been greater, or more conducive to the establishment of their schemes, than what resulted from their operations in Virginia.

While the attack of New-York was in serious contemplation, a letter from general Washington, detailing the particulars of the intended operations of the campaign, being intercepted, fell into the hands of sir Henry Clinton. After the plan was changed, the royal commander was so much under the impression of the intelligence contained in the intercepted letter, that he believed every movement towards Virginia to be a feint, calculated to draw off his attention from the defence of New-York. Under the influence of this opinion, he bent his whole force to strengthen that post, and suffered the French and American armies to pass him without any molestation. When the best opportunity of striking at them was elapsed, then for the first time he was brought to believe that the allies had fixed on Virginia, for the theatre of their combined operations. As truth may be made to answer the purposes of deception, so no feint of

attacking New-York, could have been more successful than the real intention.

In the latter end of August, the American army began their march to Virginia, from the neighbourhood of New-York. General Washington had advanced as far as Chester, before he received the news of the arrival of the fleet commanded by M. de Grasse. The French troops marched at the same time, and for the same place. In the course of this summer, they passed through all the extensive settlements which lie between Newport and York-town. It seldom, if ever happened before, that an army led through a foreign country, at so great a distance from their own, among a people of different principles, customs, language, and religion, behaved with so much regularity. In their march to York-town they had passed through 500 miles of a country abounding in fruit, and at a time when the most delicious productions of nature, growing on and near the public highways, presented both opportunity and temptation to gratify their appetites. Yet so complete was their discipline, that in this long march, scarce an instance could be produced of a peach or an apple being taken, without the consent of the inhabitants. General Washington and count Rochambeau reached Williamsburg on the 14th of September. They with general Chastelleux, du Portail, and Knox proceeded to visit count de Grasse on board his ship the *Ville de Paris*, and agreed on a plan of operations. Aug. 24.  
Sept. 14.

The count afterwards wrote to Washington, that in case a British fleet appeared, "he conceived that he ought to go out and meet them at sea, instead of risking an engagement in a confined situation." This alarmed the general. He sent the marquis de la Fayette, with a letter to dissuade him from the dangerous measure.



This letter and the persuasions of the marquis had the desired effect.

The combined forces proceeded on their way to York-Town, partly by land, and partly down the Chesapeake. The whole, together with a body of Virginia militia, under the command of general Nelson, amounting in the aggregate to 12,000 men, rendezvoused at Williamsburg on the 25th of September, and in five days after, moved down to the investiture of York-Town. The French fleet at the same time moved to the mouth of York river, and took a position which was calculated to prevent lord Cornwallis, either from retreating, or receiving succour by water. Previously to the march from Williamsburg to York-Town, Washington gave out in general orders as follows: "If the enemy should be tempted to meet the army on its march, the general particularly enjoins the troops to place their principal reliance on the bayonet, that they may prove the vanity of the boast, which the British make of their peculiar prowess, in deciding battles with that weapon."

The combined army halted in the evening, about two miles from York-Town, and lay on their arms all night. On the next day colonel Scammell, an officer of uncommon merit, and of the most amiable manners, in approaching the outer works of the British, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. About this time earl Cornwallis received a letter from sir Henry Clinton, announcing the arrival of admiral Digby, with three ships of the line from Europe, and the determination of the general and flag officers in New-York to embark 5000 men in the fleet, which would probably sail on the 5th of October—that this fleet consisted of 23 sail of the line, and that joint exertions of the navy and army would

be made for his relief. On the night after the receipt of this intelligence, earl Cornwallis quitted his outward position, and retired to one more inward.

The works erected for the security of York-Town on the right, were redoubts and batteries, with a line of stockade in the rear. A marshy ravine lay in front of the right, over which was placed a large redoubt. The morass extended along the centre, which was defended by a line of stockade, and by batteries: on the left of the centre was a hornwork with a ditch, a row of fraize and an abbatis. Two redoubts were advanced before the left. The combined forces advanced and took possession of the ground from which the British had retired. About this time the legion cavalry and mounted infantry, passed over the river to Gloucester. General de Choisy invested the British post on that side so fully, as to cut off all communication between it and the country. In the mean time the royal army was straining every nerve to strengthen their works, and their artillery was constantly employed in impeding the operations of the combined army. On the 9th and 10th of October, the French and Americans opened their batteries. They kept up a brisk and well directed fire from heavy cannon, from mortars and howitzers. The shells of the besiegers reached the ships in the harbour; the Charon of 44 guns, and a transport ship, were burned. On the 10th, a messenger arrived with a despatch from sir Henry Clinton to earl Cornwallis, dated on the 30th of September, which stated various circumstances tending to lessen the probability of relief being obtained, by a direct movement from New-York. Earl Cornwallis was at this juncture advised to evacuate York-Town, and after passing over to Gloucester, to force his way into the country. Whether this movement would have been

successful, no one can with certainty pronounce, but it could not have produced any consequences more injurious to the royal interest, than those which resulted from declining the attempt. On the other hand, had this movement been made, and the royal army been defeated or captured in the interior country, and in the mean time had sir Henry Clinton with the promised relief, reached York-Town, the precipitancy of the noble earl would have been perhaps more the subject of censure, than his resolution of standing his ground and resisting to the last extremity. From this uncertain ground of conjectures, I proceed to relate real events. The

Oct. 11. besiegers commenced their second parallel 200 yards from the works of the besieged. Two redoubts which were advanced on the left of the British, greatly impeded the progress of the combined armies. It was therefore proposed to carry them by storm. To excite a spirit of emulation, the reduction of the one was committed to the French, of the other to the Americans. The assailants marched to the assault with unloaded arms; having passed the abbatis and palisades, they attacked on all sides, and carried the redoubt in a few minutes, with the loss of 8 killed and 28 wounded. Lieutenant colonel Laurens personally took the commanding officer prisoner. His humanity, and that of his associates, so overcame their resentments, that they spared the British, though they were charged when they went to the assault, to remember New-London, (the recent massacres at which place shall be hereafter related) and to retaliate by putting the men in the redoubt to the sword. Being asked why they had disobeyed orders by bringing them off as prisoners, they answered, "We could not put them to death, when they begged for their lives." About five of the British

were killed, and the rest were captured. Colonel Hamilton, who conducted the enterprize, in his report to the marquis de la Fayette, mentioned to the honour of his detachment, "that incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocations, they spared every man who ceased to resist."

The French were equally successful on their part. They carried the redoubt assigned to them with rapidity, but lost a considerable number of men. These two redoubts were included in the second parallel, and facilitated the subsequent operations of the besiegers. The British could not with propriety risque repeated sallies. One was projected at this time, consisting of 400 men, commanded by lieutenant colonel Abercrombie. He proceeded so far as to force two redoubts, and to spike eleven pieces of cannon. Though the officers and soldiers displayed great bravery in this enterprize, yet their success produced no essential advantage. The cannon were soon unspiked and rendered fit for service.

By this time the batteries of the besiegers were covered with nearly a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, and the works of the besieged were so damaged, that they could scarcely shew a single gun. Lord Cornwallis had now no hope left but from offering terms of capitulation or attempting an escape. He determined on the latter. This, though less practicable than when first proposed, was not altogether hopeless. Boats were prepared to receive the troops in the night, and to transport them to Gloucester Point. After one whole embarkation had crossed, a violent storm of wind and rain dispersed the boats employed on this business, and frustrated the whole scheme. The royal army, thus weakened by division, was exposed to increased danger.

Orders were sent to those who had passed, to recross the river to York-Town. With the failure of this scheme the last hope of the British army expired. Longer resistance could answer no good purpose, and might occasion the loss of many valuable lives. Lord Cornwallis therefore wrote a letter to general Washington, requesting a cessation of arms for 24 hours, and that commissioners might be appointed to digest terms of capitulation. It is remarkable while lieutenant colonel Laurens, the officer employed by general Washington on this occasion, was drawing up these articles, that his father was closely confined in the tower of London, of which earl Cornwallis was constable. By this singular combination of circumstances, his lordship became a prisoner; to the son of his own prisoner.

Oct. 19. The posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered by a capitulation, the principal articles of which were as follows: The troops to be prisoners of war to congress, and the naval force to France. The officers to retain their side arms and private property of every kind; but all property, obviously belonging to the inhabitants of the United States, to be subject to be reclaimed. The soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, and to be supplied with the same rations, as are allowed to soldiers in the service of congress. A proportion of the officers to march into the country with the prisoners; the rest to be allowed to proceed on parole to Europe, to New-York, or to any other American maritime post in possession of the British. The honour of marching out with colours flying, which had been refused to general Lincoln on his giving up Charleston, was now refused to earl Cornwallis; and general Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army at York-Town, precisely in the same way his

own had been conducted, about 18 months before. Lord Cornwallis endeavoured to obtain permission for the British and German troops to return to their respective countries, under no other restrictions than an engagement not to serve against France or America. He also tried to obtain an indemnity for those of the inhabitants who had joined him; but he was obliged to recede from the former, and also to consent that the loyalists in his camp should be given up, to the unconditional mercy of their countrymen. His lordship nevertheless obtained permission for the Bonetta sloop of war to pass unexamined to New-York. This gave an opportunity of screening such of them, as were most obnoxious to the Americans.

The regular troops of France and America, employed in this siege, consisted of about 7000 of the former, and 5500 of the latter; and they were assisted by about 4000 militia. On the part of the combined army about 300 were killed or wounded. On the part of the British about 500; and 70 were taken in the redoubts, which were carried by assault on the 14th of October. The troops of every kind that surrendered prisoners of war, exceeded 7000 men, but so great was the number of sick and wounded, that there were only 3800 capable of bearing arms. The French and American engineers and artillery, merited and received the highest applause. Brigadiers general du Portail and Knox were both promoted to the rank of major generals, on account of their meritorious services. Lieutenant colonel Gouvion and captain Rochefontaine of the corps of engineers, respectively received brevets, the former to the rank of a colonel, and the latter to the rank of a major.

Congress honoured general Washington, count de

Rochambeau, count de Grasse and the officers of the different corps, and the men under them, with thanks for their services in the reduction of lord Cornwallis. The whole project was conceived with profound wisdom, and the incidents of it had been combined with singular propriety. It is not therefore wonderful, that from the remarkable coincidence in all its parts, it was crowned with unvaried success.

A British fleet and an army of 7000 men, destined for the relief of lord Cornwallis, arrived off the Chesapeake on the 24th of October; but on receiving advice of his lordship's surrender, they returned to Sandy-Hook and New-York. Such was the fate of that general from whose gallantry and previous successes the speedy conquest of the southern states had been so confidently expected. No event during the war b'd fairer for oversetting the independence of at least a part of the confederacy, than his complete victory at Camden; but by the consequences of that action, his lordship became the occasion of rendering that a revolution, which from his previous success was in danger of terminating in a rebellion. The loss of his army may be considered as the closing scene of the continental war in North-America.

The troops under the command of lord Cornwallis had spread waste and ruin over the face of all the country for four hundred miles on the sea coast, and for two hundred miles to the westward. Their marches from Charleston to Camden, from Camden to the river Dan, from the Dan through North-Carolina to Wilmington, from Wilmington to Petersburg, and from Petersburg through many parts of Virginia, till they finally settled at York-Town, made a route of more than eleven hundred miles. Every place through which they passed in

these various marches, experienced the effects of their rapacity. Their numbers enabled them to go whithersoever they pleased, their rage for plunder disposed them to take whatever they had the means of removing, and their animosity to the Americans led them often to the wanton destruction of what they could neither use nor carry off. By their means thousands had been involved in distress. The reduction of such an army occasioned unusual transports of joy, in the breasts of the whole body of the people. Well authenticated testimony asserts, that the nerves of some were so agitated, as to produce convulsions, and that at least one man expired under the tide of pleasure which flowed in upon him, when informed of his lordship's surrender.\* The people throughout the United States displayed a social triumph and exultation, which no private prosperity is ever able fully to inspire. General Washington, on the day after the surrender, ordered, "that those who were under arrest should be pardoned and set at liberty." His orders closed as follows, "divine service shall be performed to-morrow in the different brigades and divisions. The commander in chief recommends, that all the troops that are not upon duty, do assist at it with a serious deportment, and that sensibility of heart, which the recollection of the surprizing and particular interposition of Providence in our favour claims." Congress, on receiving the official account of the great events which had taken place at York-Town, Sep. 6. resolved to go in procession to church and return public thanks to Almighty God for the advantages they had gained. They also issued a proclamation for "religious-

\* The door-keeper of Congress, an aged man, died suddenly, immediately after hearing of the capture of lord Cornwallis' army. This death was universally ascribed to a violent emotion of political joy.



ly observing through the United States, the 13th of December as a day of thanksgiving and prayer." The singularly interesting event of capturing a second royal army, produced strong emotions, which broke out in all the variety of ways with which the most rapturous joy usually displays itself.

While the combined armies were advancing to the siege of York-Town, an excursion was made from New-York, which was attended with no small loss to the Americans. General Arnold, who had lately returned from Virginia, was appointed to conduct an expedition, the object of which, was the town of New-London in his native country. The troops employed  
Sept. 6. therein, were landed in two detachments on each side of the harbour. The one was commanded by lieutenant colonel Eyre and the other by general Arnold. The latter met with little opposition. Fort Trumbull, and a redoubt which was intended to cover the harbour, not being tenable, were evacuated, and the men crossed the river to Fort Griswold, on Groton hill. This was furiously attacked by lieutenant colonel Eyre: the garrison defended themselves with great resolution, but after a severe conflict of forty minutes, the fort was carried by the assailants. The Americans had not more than six or seven men killed, when the British carried their lines, but a severe execution took place afterwards, though resistance had ceased. An officer of the conquering troops enquired on his entering the fort, who commanded—colonel Ledyard answered, "I did, but you do now," and presented him his sword. The colonel was immediately run through the body and killed. Between 30 and 40 were wounded, and about 40 were carried off prisoners. On the side of the British 48 were killed and 145 wounded: among the latter was

major Montgomery, and among the former was colonel Eyre. About 15 vessels, loaded with the effects of the inhabitants, retreated up the river, and 4 others remained in the harbour unhurt, but all excepting these were burned by the communication of fire from the burning stores. Sixty dwelling houses and 84 stores were reduced to ashes. The loss which the Americans sustained by the destruction of naval stores, of provisions and merchandize, was immense. General Arnold having completed the object of the expedition, returned in eight days to New-York. The Americans lost many valuable men, and much of their possessions, by this incursion, but the cause for which they contended was uninjured. Expeditions which seemed to have no higher object than the destruction of property, alienated their affections still farther from British government. They were not so extensive as to answer the ends of conquest, and the momentary impression resulting from them, produced no lasting intimidation. On the other hand, they excited a spirit of revenge against the authors of such accumulated distresses.

The year 1781 terminated, in all parts of the United States, in favour of the Americans. It began with weakness in South-Carolina, mutiny in New-Jersey, and devastation in Virginia; nevertheless, in its close, the British were confined to their strong holds in or near New-York, Charleston, and Savannah, and their whole army in Virginia was captured. They in the course of the year had acquired much plunder, by which individuals were enriched, but their nation was in no respect benefitted. The whole campaign passed away on their part without one valuable conquest, or the acquisition of any post or place, from which higher purposes were answered, than destroying public stores or dis-

treasuring individuals, and enriching the officers and privates of their army and navy. The important services rendered by France to the Americans, cemented the union of the two nations with additional ties. The orderly inoffensive behaviour of the French troops in the United States, contrasted with the havoc of property made by the British in their marches and excursions, was silently turning the current of popular esteem in favour of the former, and working a revolution in the minds of the inhabitants, greatly conducive to the establishment of that which had taken place in the government. The property of the inhabitants of Rhode-Island, received no damage of any account from the French troops, during their eleven months residence among them. The soldiers were rather a guard than a nuisance: the citizens met with no interruption when prosecuting their lawful business, either by night or day, and were treated with every mark of attention and respect. While the progress of the British army, in a circuitous march of 1100 miles from Charleston to York-Town, was marked with rapine and desolation; the march of the French troops from Rhode-Island to the same place, a distance nearly equal in a right line, was productive of no inconvenience to the intermediate inhabitants. They were welcome guests wherever they came, for they took nothing by fraud or force, but punctually paid for all they wanted with hard money. In a contest where the good will of the people had so powerful an influence on its final issue, such opposite modes of conduct could not fail of producing their natural effects. The moderation and justice of the French, met with its reward in the general good will of the people, but the violence and rapine of the British contributed, among other things, to work the final overthrow of all their schemes in America,

On the last day of this year Henry Laurens was released from his long confinement in the tower of London. He had been committed there, as already related, on the 6th of October 1780, "On suspicion of high treason," after being examined in the presence of lord Stormont, lord George Germaine, lord Hillsborough, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Justice Addington, and others. The commitment was accompanied with a warrant to the lieutenant of the tower to receive and confine him. Their lordships orders were "To confine him a close prisoner; to be locked up every night; to be in the custody of two warders; not to suffer him to be out of their sight one moment, day nor night: to allow him no liberty of speaking to any person, nor to permit any person to speak to him; to deprive him of the use of pen and ink; to suffer no letter to be brought to him, nor any to go from him." Mr. Laurens was then fifty-five years old, and severely afflicted with the gout and other infirmities. In this situation he was conducted to apartments in the tower, and was shut up in two small rooms which together made about twenty feet square, with a warder for his constant companion, and a fixed bayonet under his window, without any friend to converse with, and without any prospect of even the means of correspondence. Being debarred the use of pen and ink, he procured pencils, which proved an useful substitute. After a month's confinement, he was permitted to walk out on limited ground, but a warder with a sword in his hand followed close behind. This indulgence was occasionally taken for about three weeks, when lord George Gordon, who was also a prisoner in the tower, unluckily met and asked Mr. Laurens to walk with him. Mr. Laurens declined the offer and instantly returned to his apartment. Governor Gore caught at this transgres-

Dec. 31

1781.

sion of orders, and locked him up for 37 days, though the attending warder exculpated him from all blame. At the end of that time the governor relented so far, as to permit his prisoner to walk on the parade before the door, but this honour, as coming from him, was refused. General Vernon, on hearing of what had passed, gave orders that Mr. Laurens should be permitted to walk out, and this exercise was in consequence thereof resumed, after an intermission of two months and a half.

Feb. 26.  
1781 About this time an old friend and mercantile correspondent, having solicited the secretaries of state for Mr. Laurens' enlargement on parole, and having offered his whole fortune as security for his good conduct, sent him the following message: "Their lordships say, if you will point out any thing for the benefit of Great-Britain, in the present dispute with the colonies, you shall be enlarged." This proposition filled him with indignation, and provoked a sharp reply, part of which was in the following words: "I perceive from the message you sent me, that if I were a rascal I might presently get out of the tower, but I am not. You have pledged your word and fortune for my integrity. I will never dishonour you nor myself. I can foresee what will come to pass. Happen to me what may, I fear no possible consequences."

March 7. The same friend soon after visited Mr. Laurens, and being left alone with him, addressed him as follows, "I converse with you this morning, not particularly as your friend, but as the friend of Great-Britain. I have certain propositions to make, for obtaining your liberty, which I advise you should take time to consider." Mr. Laurens desired to know what they were, and added, "That an honest man required no time to give an answer, in a case where his honour was con-

cerned. If," said he, "the secretaries of state will enlarge me upon parole, I will strictly conform to my engagement to do nothing directly or indirectly to the hurt of this kingdom. I will return to America, or remain in any part of England which may be assigned, and surrender myself when demanded." It was answered, "No sir, you must stay in London among your friends: the ministers will often have occasion to send for and consult you: you can write two or three lines to the ministers, and barely say you are sorry for what is past: a pardon will be granted: every man has been wrong, at some time or other of his life, and should not be ashamed to acknowledge it." Mr. Laurens replied, "I will never subscribe to my own infamy, and to the dishonour of my children." He was then told of long and painful confinement, and hints were thrown out of the possible consequences of his refusal: to which he replied, "I am afraid of no consequences but such as would flow from dishonourable acts."

In about a week after this interview, major general James Grant, who had long been ac-<sup>March 14.</sup>quainted with Mr. Laurens, and had served with him near twenty years before, on an expedition against the Cherokee Indians, visited him in the tower, and talked much of the inconveniences of his situation, and then addressed him thus: "Colonel Laurens, I have brought paper and pencil to take down any propositions you have to make to administration, and I will deliver them myself." Mr. Laurens replied, "I have pencil and paper, but not one proposition, beyond repeating a request to be enlarged on parole. I had well weighed what consequences might follow before I entered into the present dispute. I took the path of justice and honour, and no personal evils can cause me to shrink."

About this time lieutenant colonel John Laurens, the eldest son of Henry Laurens, arrived in France, as the special minister of congress. The father was requested to write to the son to withdraw himself from the court of France, and assurances were given that it would operate in his favour. To these requests he replied, "my son is of age, and has a will of his own; if I should write to him in the terms you request, it would have no effect: he would only conclude, that confinement and persuasion had softened me. I know him to be a man of honour; he loves me dearly, and would lay down his life to save mine; but I am sure he would not sacrifice his honour to save my life, and I applaud him."

June. 29.

Mr. Laurens penciled an address to the secretaries of state for the use of pen and ink, to draw a bill of exchange on a merchant in London who was in his debt, for money to answer his immediate exigences, and to request that his youngest son might be permitted to visit him, for the purpose of concerting a plan for his farther education and conduct in life. This was delivered to their lordships; but they, though they had made no provision for the support of their prisoner, returned no answer. Mr. Laurens was thus left to languish in confinement under many infirmities, and without the means of applying his own resources on the spot, for his immediate support.

As soon as Mr. Laurens had completed a year in the tower, he was called upon to pay 9*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* sterling to the two warders for attending on him. To which he replied, "I was sent to the tower by the secretaries of state without money (for aught they knew)—their lordships have never supplied me with any thing. It is now upwards of three months since I informed their lordships that the fund I had hitherto subsisted upon was nearly

exhausted, and prayed for leave to draw a bill on Mr. John Nutt, who was in my debt, which they have been pleased to refuse by the most grating of all denials, a total silence; and now a demand is made for 9*l*. 7*s*. 10*d*. If their lordships will permit me to draw for money where it is due to me, I will continue to pay my own expenses, but I will not pay the warders whom I never employed, and whose attendance I shall be glad to dispense with."

Three weeks after, the secretaries of state consented that Mr. Laurens should have the use of pen and ink, for the purpose of drawing a bill of exchange, but they were taken away the moment that business was done.

About this time, Henry Laurens, jun. wrote a humble request to lord Hillsborough, for permission to see his father, which his lordship refused to grant. He had at first been permitted to visit his father, and converse with him for a short time; but these interviews were no longer permitted. They nevertheless occasionally met on the lines and saluted each other, but durst not exchange a single word, lest it might occasion a second confinement, similar to that to which lord George Gordon had been accessary.

As the year 1781 drew near a close, Mr. Laurens' sufferings in the tower became generally known, and excited compassion in his favour, and odium against the authors of his confinement. It had also been found, by the inefficacy of many attempts, that no concessions could be obtained from him. It was therefore resolved to release him, but difficulties arose about the mode. Mr. Laurens would not consent to any act, which implied that he was a British subject, and he had been committed as such, on charge of high treason. Ministers, to extricate themselves from this difficulty, at length proposed